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M E M O I R S
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ON THE
T U R K S A N D T H E T A R T A R S.

T R A N S L A T E D f r o m t h e F R E N C H,
B Y A N E N G L I S H G E N T L E M A N A T P A R I S,

U n d e r t h e i m m e d i a t e I N S P E C T I O N

O F T H E
B A R O N.

V O L. I.

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A

MEMORIAL

PREFACE

TRANSLATOR



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they know, the difficulties he has to sur-
mount, to render a translation tolerable.

To

P R E F A C E

BY THE

T R A N S L A T O R.

THE Translator of the present work is sensible that he could not have taken a more disadvantageous, or more ungrateful station in the literary world. No merit in the translation of living languages, can flatter the person who undertakes it, with the hopes of obtaining an adequate recompence for his labours, either in point of interest, or ambition ; yet the utility of his occupation is universally admitted, and they who are acquainted with the two languages, must acknowledge, because they know, the difficulties he has to surmount, to render a translation tolerable.

To the decision of such judges, the Translator submits a work, he was induced to attempt, from motives of utility, and with the view of rescuing an author of great merit, and authenticity, from such treatment as he had reason to apprehend from the multitude of inaccurate and mutilated translations from the French, with which the English press is daily teeming. Every *Raynal* has not the good fortune to fall into the hands of a *Jusdamon*. He will only add, on the subject of translation, that it were to be wished, for the facility of that literary commerce which is increasing rapidly between the two first nations in Europe, *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, that a Dictionary might be formed of all the synonymous terms in Arts, Sciences, Natural History, &c. in the two languages, the present Dictionaries being so completely inadequate to the purposes of translation, in any of those branches. The extensive and minute knowledge of the Baron de Tott, whilst it astonishes the reader, in the course of these Memoirs, will

P R E F A C E :

will evince the utility, and, the Translator fears, the necessity of this remark. It is certain, however, that in works entirely devoted to arts and sciences, the very best Translator, without such aid, will find himself involved in insurmountable difficulties, which must necessarily lead to obscurity and confusion. The disuse of Latin in the present age, as the medium of scientific communication throughout Europe, renders such a Dictionary particularly necessary for the two rival nations.

With respect to the original work, the Translator thinks he may venture to pronounce, with some degree of confidence, that these *Memoirs* will be at all times justly held in estimation ; that they will furnish entertainment and instruction for the man of the world, and matter of profound meditation for the philosopher and politician. Did they stand in need of any other recommendation than their own intrinsic merit, the illustrious names of a *Choiseul* and a *Vergennes*, stand as an unquestionable pledge of the abilities and reputation of the

ingenious and distinguished author; whilst the importance and varied objects of his several missions, render all his remarks peculiarly interesting.

A public station at the Ottoman Porte, and amongst the Tartars, under such Ministers of a great, as well as the most favoured nation in that part of the world; a nation at all times celebrated too for its discernment and choice of able civil officers and negotiators; a most cultivated understanding and comprehensive knowledge,—a thorough acquaintance with the language and manners of the Turkish empire, for three and twenty years, the peculiar circumstances of the times wherein his abilities were called into exertion, the subsequent, and future probable events, which bid fair, perhaps in our days, to unhinge the whole system of European politics; these are strong, unequivocal recommendations, which fall to the lot of but few authors.

Ricault, Marsigli, Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and Sir James Porter, have writ-

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ten on the Turkish empire; the two former possess but a small degree of reputation; the second indeed very honestly sums up his account by declaring, that it is almost impossible to form any judgment of that people. Our elegant countrywoman, with a most voluptuous and animated pencil, has transported her reader into the paradise of Mahomet, by her lively powers of imagination; has entered into competition with the Prophet himself, and endeavoured to convert our Christian men and women too, into true believers. Sir James Porter alone has the merit of having first given to the world, true details, and accurate observations, on the manners of the Turks, founded on facts, he was himself a witness to; and to which, these Memoirs bear honourable testimony. As for the general class of travellers, their attention seems to have been limited, to the barbarous nomenclature, of the different officers of the Porte, without explaining the true nature, and extent of their employments, and by endeavouring

to assimilate them with those of our European Courts, where, in fact, there is no resemblance, to give the reader, the *Red Book* of the Grand Signior, as a substitute for every other species of information, and leave him bewildered in intricacies and errors. As an history, the annals of *Prince Cantemir*, deserve an honourable mention, and are well worthy of perusal, as involving in them, the true character of the Turkish nation, and the influence of their government, from whence arose those various revolutions, of which he is the historian; but never have this extraordinary government and people been so fully, or so accurately developed, as by the author of these Memoirs: divested of prejudice too, and almost superior to the restraints of the country in which he writes, in painting the Ottoman empire, he has laid open errors and crimes common to all despotic governments, and by boldly tracing them to despotism itself, has indirectly, but effectually stood forth, the champion of humanity. A citizen himself, of a government,

vernment, arbitrary, at least in its principles, he has ventured to hold out a terrible and salutary warning to all nations; not quite so far gone in slavery, as the wretched orientals, to guard well their few remaining rights, and to tremble for the total loss of freedom.

After making the reader perfectly acquainted with the manners and monstrous government of the Turks, and correcting numberless errors of preceding travellers, can any thing be more curious or interesting, than to see this unweildy mass in motion, and an empire consisting of eighty millions of inhabitants, possessed of the finest climates and countries on the globe, upheld, and possibly preserved, in a most critical moment of its existence, by the superior address and understanding of one single European?—All Europe knew, at the time, that the defence of the Dardanelles against the Russian fleet was intrusted to Mr. de Tott §, but never until the publication

§ The judicious editor of the Annual Register, published

publication of these Memoirs, was the world acquainted with the real weakness of that important passage, the facility of forcing it, or the singular exertions of its dis-
published by Doddsley, in speaking of the campaigns between the Turks and Russians of 1773 and 1774, makes the following observations. "No details are
"to be expected from a Turkish Cabinet, or army;
"and the Russians, satisfied with their success, have
"no occasion to enter into a recital of particulars,
"which might lessen the glory or difficulty of their
"achievements. Such information can only be ob-
"tained near the scene of action, and will "un-
"doubtedly be hereafter communicated," either by
"some one of the most curious and intelligent of the
"European Ministers at the Porte, or of those fo-
"reign officers who served on the Danube. For
"such curious and useful inquiries or details, we
"have been more indebted to the industry of the
"French Ministers and Secretaries, for above a cen-
"tury past, than to those of all the other nations in
"Europe."—And in another place, "As the Turks
"give no detail of their military transactions, and
"the Russians only such a one as is suited to the me-
"ridian of their own people, no regular account is
"to be expected, until some future Manstein, among
"their foreign officers, shall get free from the
"shackles of power, and give an account of things
"as they really are." As far as the circumstances
admit, the reader will draw the parallel, and make
the application.

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tinguished defender. His labours, his firmness, and perseverance, in overcoming every obstacle, in braving the most inveterate prejudices, in conquering, and submitting to his will, the stupid pride, the fanaticism, the obstinacy, the jealousy, of this infatuated people; and, above all, their contempt and hatred of the Christians.—The unalterable confidence reposed in him by the Grand Signior, justified by the most astonishing success in this defence, as well as in his subsequent proceedings, form, altogether, a series of particulars unexampled in history. By the force of his own genius, aided only by the *Memoirs of Saint Remy*, and the *Encyclopedie*, Mr. de Tott learnt himself, and taught his dangerous pupils to cast and bore cannon, to employ their artillery, and to make pontoons. He changed their arms, their evolutions, their discipline their principles of ship-building, and fortification; he founded different schools, and was himself at once the mechanical workman, and the

the guide and inventor of these various reforms.

His account of the Tartars would at all times have been extremely curious, but is more particularly so at this moment, as it is perhaps the last glance we shall have of that ancient and interesting people, as a distinct and independent nation. Russia is now in complete possession of the Crimea, from whence she is already making naval armaments; and from the rapid progress made in one century, in arts and arms, by that vast empire, it may be conjectured, without any extraordinary stretch of imagination, that the beautiful and happy situation, and immense population of the Tauric Chersonesus, will prove in her hands, the source and instrument of considerable, and perhaps, not very distant revolutions. In this part of the Memoirs, there is a rich feast for the philosopher and politician.— They will there find, amongst an infinite variety of new and interesting materials, a number of European customs, which certainly have not travelled eastward, our ancient
feudal

feudal system, and a pretty correct model of English legislature, with an improvement on the democratical part of that celebrated institution, revived by the people of America, in several of their new constitutions ; I mean, the insuring to the people the meeting of the deliberative branch of the legislature, independent of the executive power ; as we see that the Bey of the Chirins, in the Tartar constitution, could convoke the assembly of the other Beys, even if the Kam, like Charles the First, should be disposed to dispense with this necessary controul. Thus has modern foresight supplied, what has probably been lost in the descent from the original authors of this, as well as other usages of the northern nations.

Notwithstanding our author has been obliged to tread over beaten ground in the latter part of the second volume, the reader will find it replete with new and ingenious remarks and discussions ; and as a commercial nation, England cannot with an indifferent eye, view her rivals in possession of

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the whole commerce of the Levant, nor the unremitted attention she continues to bestow on this important source of her wealth and prosperity. Happy too, if she could be prevailed on to take a lesson from the political conduct of her powerful and rising neighbour. She would not then continue to hazard her interests, and lessen her consequence in the eyes of Europe, by sending a Ch——d to represent her policy at the Court of one of the first branches of the House of Bourbon, whilst she has the example of France, deputing a De Tott, to reside with the Kam of the Tartars, and to negotiate with the Confederates of Poland †.

† It is a certain fact, although not generally known, that the Duke de Choiseul, the same Minister who sent M. de Tott on his mission to the Tartars, employed the Baron de Kaalb, in the year 1765, soon after the laying of the fatal Stamp Act, to sound the dispositions, and tamper with the American leaders. The same Baron de Kaalb remained twelve months in that country, and until the wise measure of the repeal, by the Rockingham administration. He returned to America, however, at the commencement of hostilities, and lost his life fighting under General Gates, at the memorable battle of Camden.

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The Translator has taken the liberty of pronouncing with much confidence on the fidelity of these Memoirs, if it were possible to entertain a doubt, from the circumstance of his being honoured with the personal acquaintance of the Baron de Tott †, and the opportunities he has had of con-

† The chagrin of the Court of Russia on being made acquainted with the state of the defence, when their fleet was off the Dardanelles, must be very great. M. de Tott informed the Translator, that after the conclusion of the peace, he met with Prince Repnin, whom he had formerly known at Warsaw, on his arrival in quality of Russian Ambassador at Constantinople: dining together, with the other foreign Ministers, at le Comte de St. Priest's, the Prince was congratulated on the return of peace, and his appearance at the Porte; on which, turning to M. de St. Priest, with a sarcastic air, he said, "We should have arrived here much sooner, if M. de Tott would have permitted us." The time and place, which should have precluded the remark, permitted M. de Tott only to reply, "Your Excellency does me too much honour; I do assure you that I only went to the Dardanelles to see your fleet pass." The Ambassador soon had the mortification to ascertain the truth on which this repartée was founded.

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versing with Mr. Rufin §, a man of the strictest veracity, and the most correct understanding, who was Secretary Interpreter to the Baron, when amongst the Tartars, and has

§ Mr. Rufin was made a prisoner by the Russians in a second inroad of the Tartars, under Dewlet-Gueray, successor to Krim-Guery; and after being deprived of all his papers, was kept confined twelve months, under pretence of his not being a Frenchman, although he was known to be Chargé d'Affaires, after the departure of the Baron de Tott.—A Russian officer reproaching him one day with having directed the artillery of Kotchim for the Turks, Mr. Rufin asked him what execution it had done in the Russian camp? “We had one man, and four horses killed,” replied the Russian.—“I leave you to judge, then,” says Mr. Rufin, “whether the cannon were pointed by a Frenchman.”

A noble instance of female tenderness and Turkish cruelty, which the Translator had from Mr. Rufin, deserves to be recorded.—In the first inroad into New Servia by Krim-Gueray, the account of which is given in these Memoirs, the Kam, anxious, as far as he was able, to alleviate the horrors of that species of war to which the Tartars are accustomed, and desirous, as we have seen, of preserving the Polish territory from violation, appointed inspectors to visit all the waggons, and tents, and gave orders for all the persons who were taken for the purpose of carrying them

is well acquainted with the customs and manners of Constantinople.

It is with concern that the Translator has observed in *Dodley's Annual Register* for 1773, a work of great and merited reputation, and which will certainly furnish the best materials for future historians, an account of the Baron de Tott, equally untrue and injurious to his honour and reputation. The passage is founded on a mistake, pardonable, 'tis true, from the obscurity of the narratives of the day, and the extreme difficulty stated by the Editor, of ascertaining facts, in the war between the Turks and Russians, but which the Translator has no doubt but he will readily embrace the opportunity of correcting, from his known candour, and love of truth, in the next volume of his most useful history. The Baron, indeed, is not named, but the allusion is too pointed to admit of doubt; besides that, his name is mentioned in the volume for 1774, page 6. of the *Historical Part*, in his account of the victory gained over the Reis

has lived also in Turkey; and from his intimacy with Mr. Du Rocher, a gentleman of the most amiable manners, and great honour, who has long faithfully served his Court, as Consul at Tripoli, and Tunis, understands perfectly the Turkish language, has travelled through Egypt, and other parts of the Ottoman dominions, and them into slavery, to be brought for examination to these inspectors. One of those barbarous Turkish Sipahis, so well characterized by Mr. de Tott, came riding up to Mr. Rufin, in consequence of this regulation, and demanded, if he was one of the persons appointed to receive the slaves? Mr. Rufin seeing him with four infants in his arms, and, to use his own expression, when speaking of it to the Translator, which he could compare to nothing but a birds-nest this ruffian had just been robbing, humanely answered in the affirmative; the barbarian cried out, "Take them," and throwing them with violence from his horse, rode off full gallop. The ground was fortunately covered with snow, so that the poor infants received no hurt. Mr. Rufin was embarrassed, no doubt, with this present, but not discouraged from the duties of humanity; with much difficulty he found the parents of three of them, and the fourth was taken by a poor woman, who was sufficiently encumbered with children of her own, but having formerly lost an infant in the same way, cheerfully embraced and adopted the lost innocent.

Effendi, on the 20th of June, wherein the fine train of artillery taken by the Russians, is truly said to have been “ cast under the directions of the *Chevalier de Tott*.” The passage is as follows:—“ *A French Renegade*, who had been the Consul to that nation at the Dardanelles, and had basely fixed the stigma upon his country, of producing the first public officer belonging to any Western State, who had abandoned Christianity, to embrace Mahometanism, formed a kind of military school, under the sanction and immediate inspection of the Grand Signior, which in the present disposition of the Turks, may be productive of some effect. This man, having a competent degree of mathematical knowledge, and being well versed in the management of artillery, had been employed, prior to his apostacy, in repairing the castles, and erecting new fortifications at the Dardanelles; so that, independent of the defence of a fleet, that passage might, from its own strength, be rendered impracticable.”

“ practicable to the Russians. That ser-
 “ vice having been performed to the satis-
 “ faction of the Porte, and *this adventurer*
 “ *being now become its subject*, he under-
 “ took the instruction of the Turkish en-
 “ gineers, and attended to this office with
 “ such assiduity, that, it is said, he has
 “ already accomplished a surprizing im-
 “ provement in the management of their
 “ artillery.”

The fact is, that the Baron de Tott ne-
 ver was Consul at the Dardanelles; but the
 Vice-Consulship, *a post of no sort of conse-*
quence, was then held by a very low per-
 son, of the name of Guys; who appre-
 hending the resentment of the French
 Ambassador, for some offence he had com-
 mitted, basely assumed the turban; and
 was, in consequence, thoroughly despised,
 as all renegadoes are by the Turks, as well
 as his own countrymen*. The rest of

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* Mr. De Tott has stated to the translator the
 impracticability of the Turks receiving any essential
 permanent instructions from the Europeans, on this

very

this man's history, which the Translator had from the Baron de Tott, and Mr. du Rocher, is not worth relating. The Baron, indeed, laughed at the passage when it was shown

very principle, viz. that the instant their instructor becomes a Mahometan, he is looked upon as a fellow subject, and is reduced to a level with themselves, besides the contempt naturally attending a forced conversion; and if he remains a Christian, he has insuperable obstacles to overcome, even with the unusual and improbable protection and firmness of a Sultan Mustapha. Amongst others, the famous Mr. De Bonneval, whose history made so much noise at the beginning of this century, may be rated as an example of the truth of this observation. No Christian can ever be more respectably situated than Mr. De Tott, yet even his regulations produced only a momentary effect, and are already fallen into decay. On this subject, it may not be improper to add the two following anecdotes:—

One of the best officers of the King of Prussia, tempted by various reports in the European Gazettes, of the lucrative and advantageous situations to be obtained at the Porte, without any trouble, by an officer of merit, set out for Constantinople with the best possible certificates, the testimonial of that great Captain his royal master. On his arrival he presented himself to the Envoy, communicating to him

his

shown him; but on the Translator's representing to him the work, with the respect it merits, he was not so indifferent to honest fame, as not to wish to call upon the justice

his intentions of disciplining, and commanding the Turkish troops. The Envoy endeavoured to convince him of his error, and to dissuade him from his project, assuring him that his services could not be accepted. "What," says the officer, "is not Mr. De Tott, at this very hour, employed and making a fortune under them." "Let us wait on that gentleman," replies the Envoy, "since you will not be convinced by me, and you will then hear his account of the matter." They called on the Baron, who confirmed the Envoy's observations, by the most striking facts, assuring him, amongst other circumstances, *that he had never received a farthing from the Porte, nor any other appointment than that of his own Court.* Still he is not satisfied.—He addresses himself directly to the Porte, and obtains an audience of the Reis Effendi, who after listening to all his commendations, very coolly answered him: "all this is very well, but there is one little requisite you seem to have forgot." "What is that?" demanded the officer;—"only the trifling ceremony of becoming a Mahometan." The officer with great warmth cites Mr. De Tott, as a proof that a Christian may be employed. "Aye," says the Minister, "that

justice of the Editor, that his honour may be vindicated to the English nation, and to Europe, through the same respectable channel by which it has been unintentionally

“that is very true, and appears to us all very astonishing; but that is no sort of rule,—the Grand Signior chooses it should be so, and we must obey him; but I tell you once more, that it is an example, which will not be repeated—Mr. De Tott’s is a very extraordinary case.” It is unnecessary to add, that the officer was not employed.

The other anecdote is of the Swedish Envoy, who zealously interested himself at all times, in favour of Mr. De Tott’s regulations. Conversing one day with one of the first Ministers of the Porte, on that subject, he asked him, whether he had not made great improvements? “Yes,” replies the Minister, “but”---“But what,” says the Envoy, giving some recent instance of his skill, “is not that surprising?” “Yes truly,” resumed the Minister drily, “but what is still more surprising, is, that he is still alive.” The Envoy flew to Mr. De Tott, related the conversation, and the manner in which this was said, conjuring him to be on his guard; and above all not to drink coffee with them when he waited on the Ministers. Mr. De Tott thanked him for his fears, but observed, that his safety lay in the terrors of the Ministers themselves, and the favour and protection of the

ally wounded. The Translator, therefore, in his name, and for the credit of the work itself, lays claim to justice in that particular, leaving "the competency of the Baron's mathematical knowledge," and other qualifications, to be determined by the judgment of the readers of these Memoirs. However he may value his scientific reputation, nothing is so dear to the Baron de Tott as his personal honour *.

PARIS,

March 16, 1785.

the Grand Signior, adding, that if they dared to attempt his life, no precaution he could take, would insure it, besides that betraying such an apprehension, was the most probable means of suggesting the idea.

* Mr. De Tott is in possession of a curious *French poem*, from the *Royal Press at Moscow*, wherein amongst a variety of *barbarous epithets*, in *barbarous verse*; he is also portrayed as a purchased renegado. How frail is fame, and how ineffectual the exertions of an active and useful life, when we consider that history is not unfrequently obliged to decorate her dignity, with the vilest trappings!!

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

HISTORY appears, at the first glance, to present us with nothing but a scene of horror, where the victims are brought upon the stage, only to throw a lustre on those executioners of mankind, who sacrifice them to their passions, but it lays before us at the same time the valuable description of manners; and that part of History will appear undoubtedly the most interesting, when we consider that a nation is governed by its ancient customs, as the conduct of an individual is guided by his personal character. From what more fertile source can we derive a perfect knowledge of mankind, or learn to govern them?

In this point of view, History ought to form a most interesting object of attention in the policy of all governments: it will

there be seen, that customs, by creating and modifying, insensibly, their manners, form, in every part of the world, the great spring by which mankind are put in motion. Customs lay the foundation of, and produce the great Revolutions of Empires; they form the structure, and either ensure its stability, or undermine it by degrees; and are the causes of its total destruction. The slowness of the approach conceals the progress of the evil; and its fatal advances are unperceived until the moment when he, who could apply the remedy, receives himself a stroke he is unable to repel without that force of which he is no longer master.

If we leave in obscurity those torrents of robbers, who, in ravaging the earth, have trampled under foot those small societies which assumed the pompous title of Empires; if we except too some petty states, who, after increasing the population of infant Rome, carried the reputation of her arms so far as to procure the submission of several countries by the simple summons

mons of her heralds, no powerful nation has ever really fallen from the attack of a foreign enemy; no empire, firmly established, has ever been overthrown by the fate of an unfortunate battle. Greece, enslaved by the Romans; Rome, herself, destroyed by the Barbarians, fell less a sacrifice to foreign force, than to her own internal weakness.

This truth has no need of examination: it is perhaps the only point which History, in treating of the rise and fall of ancient empires, has illustrated completely. But why may not an inquiry into their reigning manners and customs, serve to elucidate the History of those people who have not even preserved any tradition of their own? Their manners will be, with respect to them, what the Parian marbles have been for the Greeks, but a monument undoubtedly of greater value. We have only to decypher the characters. The spirit of each nation will serve in the stead of its ancient inscriptions; and we shall there discover the type of those great events which

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

must have happened in former ages.— Those nations, whose manners appear the most refined, must for that reason have undergone more frequent revolutions ; and we may conclude, that the people, who discover in their manners only those effects which arise from the natural influence of climate, have never been subdued. In fact, if we consider despotism as exercised now under the torrid zone, and again towards the polar circle, is it possible to attribute the manners of any nation to the sole influence of climate ? If we suppose that the republican principle was prior to that of despotism, how can the latter have totally obliterated every trace of ancient liberty ? Such revolutions, however, have covered the surface of the globe, and appear to be the real cause of that variety of manners which so far distinguish, at this day, the respective nations, as to occasion a visible alteration in the natural and primitive features of all human societies. Bring together a Manchou and a Bass-Arabian Tartar, you will search in vain the interval

terval of fifteen hundred leagues that separates their countries: the climate differs but little; the government is the same. Then consider the Greek and the Turk, whose habitations touch; you will there recover the fifteen hundred leagues that you had lost; yet they live under the same sky, and under the same constitution. Let the Arab, who, under the burning tropic, goes to refresh himself at the cataracts of the Nile, take place of the Manchou, to the north of China, he will there exhibit more moral analogy with the Tartar than he did with the Egyptians, his countrymen; but let him pass the River Amur, and he will form a striking contrast with the Russian soldier. And, in pursuing this inquiry, the influence of government will appear more distinctly marked on the characters of individuals, than that of climate: we shall perceive moral, constantly prevailing over natural, causes, and giving the solution of those various shades of difference, which appear the most difficult of explanation.

It is by considering, in this point of view, the descendants of Patroclus and Achilles, that one perceives that under the influence of the same climate, the despotism that has crushed the later Greeks, subdued formerly by Alexander, although it has marked them with the character of slavery, has not been able to efface the outlines of that religious pusillanimity which overturned the empire of the Greeks. It is thus, that by remounting to the ancient period of Grecian glory, we shall find in the principles of her early governments, the correctives of that climate, which invites its inhabitants more to enjoy, than to be indifferent about life. The weakness of the lower empire could not fail to enervate those minds which had been influenced in former times by the exalted motives of glory, liberty, and virtue; and it is under the yoke of the present tyrants, that natural causes must resume their empire. These natural causes must necessarily predominate, if not opposed by moral obstacles; and despotism destroys.

destroys them. This government too has less influence than any other on the multitude which it oppresses;—the principal instruments of the oppression of the people, constitute its main spring and support.

If the climate which the Turks inhabit relaxes their fibres, the despotism under which they groan transports them to violence. They are not unfrequently ferocious;—their system of predestination adds to their fierceness; and the same prejudice that in a cold climate would have rendered them courageous, in a hot one produces nothing but fanaticism and rashness*; the

* The Turks furnish continual proofs of this assertion, in their quarrels with one another. Drunkenness is the necessary preparative for vengeance. Assassination is the only method they employ; they face no danger in cold blood. An Ottoman army once attacked, is broken to pieces without being beaten; but the first shock of the Turks, when they are determined to make the first attack, is always dangerous and difficult to sustain. At the affair of Grotzka, to get possession of a redoubt, they heaped the ditches with their dead; and fanaticism carried some of them so far in the last war against the Russians, as to make them brave the fire of the artillery by rushing, like madmen, to hack with their sabres the mouths of the enemy's cannon.

burning fever which elevates their brain, makes them despise every thing that is not Turkish; and from that mode of reasoning with themselves, pride and ignorance are the natural result. It is for this reason, that in the very cradle of the arts, in the country of Pericles, of Euclid, and of Homer, the sciences are spoken of, at this day, only with a sneer of contempt.

But notwithstanding all men are attracted by renown, and are invariably put in motion by self-love, although their object be not immediately the same; and the Turks are perhaps the only men who have made choice of murder as the road to fame, without possessing energy of mind sufficient to commit it in cold blood. Whilst the climate disposes to weakness on the one hand, and despotism urges to violence on the other, intoxication becomes necessary to give them vigour; and, to perpetrate a crime with them, is to raise themselves to a level with their despot.

By reflecting on the connection between the manners and customs of every nation, its climate, and present form of government,

ment, and by observing with attention the different traces of their ancient governments, one cannot help beholding with horror the thoughtless multitude always leaning to the defective side, and invariably preserving the instruments of their own moral destruction.

Is it possible not to distinguish clearly this effect on the most celebrated of all people, at this day the last of nations, although it be even now the most numerous and most universally dispersed? The Jews, who cover the earth with their industry, without having preserved any legitimate right of possession, submitting to the impulsions of every government where they are to be found, still retain, in the midst of those different governments, a shadow of their ancient theocracy, in the exercise of a kind of tolerated municipality; and which alone is capable of feeding that stupid pride, that renders them insensible to insult. The Jews carry this insensibility even into cold and mountainous countries, where the human race, strongly constituted,

tuted, is always courageous, and often vindictive. Moral habits always prevail over natural causes, except when tyranny, or the abuse of liberty, restores them to all their rights.

If, in order to weigh more minutely this last assertion, we undertake to confront the distinguishing characteristics of all nations, with their respective histories, it will be necessary, no doubt, amidst the croud of interesting events, to draw a line between those which have only transiently affected them, and such as have been followed by the incorporation of the victors and the vanquished. Torrents only sweep before them the surface of the earth, without impairing the soil:—this distinction is essential, that we may not confound a madman who over-runs Asia to subjugate the earth, after having laid it waste, with Alexander building Alexandria, to give a center to the universe, and to unite the two hemispheres of the globe. It is not less important to observe the nature of the conquered country, so as to distinguish the

the inhabitants of the mountains, who are never thoroughly reduced, from those of the plains, who are always easily subdued. In this point of view, there is not even a kingdom, there is not even a province, where the people do not essentially differ, although confounded under the same denomination. We shall very easily distinguish too, amongst them, the different effects even of the same form of government; and this difference will eternally exist. Man has an invincible tendency to liberty; the moment that he discovers the possibility of enjoying, he determines to obtain it: in a hilly country, he preserves an independence which the situation favours; accustomed to climb the mountains, he traverses them with ease, and it is from their summit that he braves that power, to which the inhabitant of the plain is as submissive from custom, as from the nature of the country, and in which ease and plenty conciliates his subjection; whilst on the other hand, the hardy mountaineer finds, in the charm of liberty alone, an ample compensation

sation for the wants and fatigues inseparable from his situation.

In travelling along the coast of Syria, we see despotism extending itself over all the flat country, and its progress stopt towards the mountains, at the first rock, at the first defile, that is easy of defence; whilst the Curdi, the Drusi, and the Mutuali, masters of Libanon, and Anti-Libanon, constantly preserve their independence, their manners, and the memory of the famous Facardin. The Macedonians formerly subdued, could not easily have been so; but in their plains and their mountains must have afforded them as sure an asylum against the tyranny of the Romans, as they still furnish them at this day against the Ottoman yoke. No revolution therefore has impaired, among this hardy race, the influence of climate. From the days of the hero of Greece, without any intermediate epocha, indefatigable husbandmen, and as brave as they are laborious, always united in defence of the common cause; and each individual find-
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ing in himself resource sufficient to revenge a personal injury, they still chaunt the victories of Alexander, with the certainty of again obtaining fresh ones, over the first enemy they encounter.

There is no nation on which so much has been written as on the Turks; and no prejudices more readily believed than those which are adopted on the subject of their manners. The voluptuousness of the eastern nations, the delirium of happiness they enjoy, surrounded by many women, the beauty of those who people their pretended seraglios, their intrigues and gallantries, the courage of the Turks, the nobleness of their actions, their generosity—what an accumulation of errors! even their justice has been quoted as a model. But how is it possible, says Montesquieu, that the most ignorant of all people, can have seen clearly, in the circumstance in the world, which it behoves them the most to understand?

This objection could not escape the eye of genius. Mr. de Montesquieu might have

have equally denied the Turks that delicate voluptuousness, and the principles of that greatness of mind, and generosity, which they have been supposed to possess. He might have perceived that an unenlightened nation can contribute nothing to its own happiness, because its ignorance partakes of a principle, which constantly destroys, without ever being productive.

An individual in France or England, if he be rich, though ignorant, may there enjoy a kind of happiness which will flatter his imagination. His mistress shall be amiable; he shall even find several who agree together; his house shall be elegantly furnished; he shall be well dressed, and have a handsome equipage; and the practice of borrowing the ideas of others, shall conceal even his ignorance. He is like an opaque body in the midst of a great mass of light. In an enlightened nation, riches procure every thing: to an ignorant people they are so much the more a burthen, as having no method of employing them, they content themselves with hoarding;
men

men apply themselves more eagerly to the art of amassing wealth, when the impossibility of enjoying it leaves them only the barren resource of accumulation.

But riches alone are not sufficient to procure a man the true enjoyment of his fortune. There are but few happy men in the class of opulence, because it is more easy to abuse, than to make a proper use of riches. This is perhaps the only instance where ignorance adopts the simplest method; yet it cannot be denied, that knowledge is as necessary to true enjoyment, as temperance is to health. If these reflections naturally occur to every man who can and will reflect, how happens it that a commercial intercourse of two centuries betwixt Europe and the Turks, should be productive only of false notions respecting them; and why should the reader, who really searches after knowledge, bestow more credit on the present, than on any former narrative? What are my particular claims to credibility?

But

But these are observations which never occurred on the subject of the pretended letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague. They pleased, and that was enough for the author; and too often this is all the reader looks for. The story of a Cady's head, offered by a Janissary to that Ambassadress, instead of some pigeons which she had desired, cannot fail of entertaining more than an account of the death of the three favourites of the Sultan Mahomout*, whom
that

* Sultan Mahomout had bestowed all his confidence on Kiflar Aga, who, in his turn, trusted every thing to a young Turk of the name of Soliman, and he gave himself up entirely to Zacoub, an Armenian banker; this triumvirate studied every thing which could excite and contribute to the Sultan's pleasures, by which means these favourites gratified their rapaciousness, and confirmed their credit. They had the entire government of the empire, and every office was sold to the best bidder; a whisper from them disposed of the most inconsiderable employment. Arrived at length, at that pitch of insolence which cannot bear the slightest contradiction, one of their creatures had the boldness to threaten, with his whip, the Judge of Scutary, who raised his voice and appealed to Justice. His house was, in consequence, destroyed in the night; but this method of silencing the complaint
produced

that Prince was obliged to sacrifice, to atone for an insult offered to another Cady.

In the former story the ridiculousness of the circumstance is concealed by its gaiety, whilst the latter presents nothing but an example of the abuses of despotism, and the weakness of the despot, at which humanity shudders.

There is nothing so common when one is unacquainted with the language, as to adopt, and give false notions of the country where one travels; and that too, under a firm conviction that we are right, and with a most earnest desire of being minutely exact. After reflecting on Lady Montague's story of her Janissary, her Cady, and her pigeons, I think I have dis-

produced such discontents, that some new fire broke out every day at Constantinople. A singular method of compelling the Sovereign's attention, but which was so successful, as to determine the Grand Signor to order the heads of his favourites to be taken off, and as they had instructed him in the habits of varying his pleasures, he assisted in person at the execution of the young Soliman, and of Zacoub; Kissar Aga was executed in Leander's Tower.

covered in the genius of the Turkish language and people, the solution of her error, notwithstanding the literal translation of the Janissary's answer, supposed to be given by her interpreter. In fact, it is not unlikely, that tired of searching for the pigeons, which are less taken care of, and more wild in Turkey, and rudely repulsed by the Cady ; out of humour, perhaps, at the demands of the female traveller, he may have taken upon him to ask, "if he should bring the Cady's head !" And if, in addition to this answer, we figure to ourselves an air and tone of impatience, it will appear really to convey more contempt for the Ambassadors than for the Judge ; and this is, probably, what the interpreter did not faithfully translate to Lady Mary Montague.

It is thus that travellers, deprived of the only means by which they can travel to effect, have published, and given sanction to numberless absurdities, without meriting any other reproach than that of not being sufficiently diffident of themselves.

selves. I trust that this judgment will appear moderate and impartial.

One remark, however, I must make, with respect to those who put implicit confidence in that collection of reveries. To the reader who wishes to be amused with such idle dreams, my observation will be useless. I address myself to such only as are really in search of instruction. How is it possible to overlook the most palpable contradictions? Are there no certain rules for distinguishing the truth? Will you believe, because you are told so, that a man with one arm has made use of both; or that a man with one eye sees better by shutting it? If then you cannot give credit to such monstrous absurdities, how can you be prevailed upon to imagine, that those faculties which alone can make men happy, are not totally destroyed by despotism? Admit for a moment this monster in politics, observe well the consequences, follow up the detail, combine its circumstances, and it will be impossible any longer to deceive you, except in a few

details of no importance, and the embellishments of the author. This, however, is of itself sufficient to establish and perpetuate innumerable errors. I might myself have committed the same fault, had I, in writing of the Turks, given way to those sentiments with which they have inspired me. It is necessary not to decide partially, and to be diffident even of one's own judgment. With respect to myself, it is by living amongst them three and twenty years, and under various circumstances, that I have obtained a knowledge of their character*. It is from the manner, therefore, in which I have viewed them, that I have formed my opinions. To enable those who really wish for information to judge for themselves, I shall furnish them with the same materials, by giving a faithful narrative of events, and

* From the principles I have laid down on the necessity of knowing the language of any nation with which one wishes to be thoroughly acquainted, it cannot be supposed that I have neglected this most essential method of obtaining a knowledge of the Turks.

placing them in the same point of view. The impression the picture I am about to lay before them made, on myself, is of little importance.

This reflection has determined me to write only a Journal of what passed during my residence in Turkey, and in Tartary, and a narrative of my last voyage up the Levant ; and I shall confine myself to such observations as may be necessary to elucidate the facts, without even venturing on a detail of circumstances, to which I was not myself a witness. To consent to be ignorant, is an excellent method of obtaining knowledge ; and when an Author allows that he is so, he puts in a strong claim to the confidence of his reader. But this is by no means the system of those travellers who are anxious to conduct their readers into the inmost recesses of the Seraglio, recesses absolutely impenetrable. To study their manners, the influence of their government and climate, and to examine their particular customs, these are the only means by which we can escalate

the walls of the ancient Byzantium*. But of the various objects which merit our attention, amongst such a people as the Turks, is there none then so interesting as the history of their women? Of what consequence is it to mankind to be informed, that any individual, who from fortune and the prejudices of his country, has the free enjoyment of forty women, collects them together, and keeps them in a cage? In reading such a description, we can only lament the hard fate of this groupe of unhappy victims, and pronounce, without hesitation, that they are not very happy amongst themselves. But it is undoubtedly of some importance to study the effects of this extraordinary state of things, which is as far removed as possible from the state of nature. The slightest reflection will explain those effects, and an enquiry into their manners, will confirm the result.

* The limits of the ancient Byzantium are at present entirely occupied by the Grand Signior's Seraglio.

Having,

Having, from my situation, had few opportunities of speaking of the Turkish women, I have thought it necessary to attempt to rectify the erroneous ideas which prevail respecting them, by making some remarks on the plurality of wives, their manner of existing in that melancholy sort of society, and, in short, on the abuses which arise from the very circumstance of that association,

I shall gratify at once my own impatience, and that of the public, by beginning with the subject; but if they are anxious to penetrate into the interior of the harems §, they will very soon be as desirous as myself of getting out of them, to pursue, with me, an enquiry more worthy their attention.

§ The word Harem, is strictly confined to signify the apartments of the women, the inclosure appropriated to their use: it must never be confounded with Seraglio, which means a Palace. All the Turks have a Harem; the Visir himself has no Seraglio.—The Ambassadors of crowned heads have each a Seraglio, but no Harem; the Grand Signior has both one and the other.

The Coran, which forms a code of civil and criminal laws, as well as of morals and religious worship, and which, with the latitude of interpretation intrusted to the Judges, provides for every contingency, restrains the Turks to four wives *nikiablus*, or married ; but a Mahometan marriage is only a civil act, a contract executed before the Judge, who, in this case, officiates only as a common notary. The dowry, as well as the marriage-gift, the most important object, are specified in this act, which are returned to her in case of repudiation, and this act they call *nikaih*.

There is another sort of marriage too, which allots a specific sum to be restored, and fixes a given period for the separation. This contract they call *kapin* ; and is, properly speaking, no other than a bargain between the parties, to live together for a certain time, for a certain sum §.

By

§ Whenever one man has the privilege of taking and locking up forty women, the nine and thirty men who by this unfair division are deprived of the sweetest

By another law called *namekrem*, marriageable girls are forbid to uncover their faces, and married women, to any other than their husbands. This law is not very favourable, undoubtedly, to marriages of inclination. A Turk marries his neighbour's daughter, or widow, without knowing her. He has no other method of determining his choice, than from the report of his other wives, or of some mediatrix.

A moment's reflection is enough to show us, that the law of *namekrem* can never be so rigidly observed by the women of the lower class, who are constantly following their occupations, as by the opulent and inactive. The working man, therefore, has sometimes the advantage of his own eyes to direct his choice, as a com-

est consolation humanity is blessed with, necessarily requires some attention. We find, in consequence, that wherever a law has been made contrary to nature, another law becomes necessary to counteract it. From this we may deduce the origin of the marriages called *kapin*, of places of refuge for debtors, and foundling hospitals. Governments are like those frenetic gamesters who are constantly beating themselves, without correcting their errors.

penfation

penation for the want of fortune, which puts it out of his power to avail himself of the right of plurality. Misfortune is generally balanced by some advantage. But the abuse of good fortune has not the same source of consolation.

Such is the case with the plurality of wives, which necessarily occasions unavoidable expences; and where is the man in a situation to support them?

Excepting those who are in trade, and who, rich from their œconomy, ought not to be classed among the luxurious, the Turks arrive at opulence, only from public employments, obtained through the favour of the great, who have raised themselves by the same means. Their fortune is merely personal, accumulated by rapaciousness, hidden under ground on the slightest alarm, dissipated in luxury, and fortuitously renewed; and their anxiety to acquire, and lavish it, is sharpened by the perpetual precariousness of their situation.

The

The Turks seldom leave large fortunes to their children. Sums of money so considerable as to admit of being divided, would be temptations sufficient for the grasping hands of the sovereign, who would readily find a pretext in the manner by which they were acquired, to justify his violence, in making himself master of their wealth.

A Turk, therefore, cannot in general be rich enough to maintain a considerable harem, until he has obtained, through the favour of his patron, some place of great trust; and which becomes lucrative in proportion to his abuse of authority.

Until that happens, confounded with the croud of young men, attached to the same master, from the same motives of ambition, reduced to the necessity of living only amongst men, hurried on by the violence of his passions, separated from the women, yet inflamed by their proximity even in yielding to her impulse, he is obliged to deviate from nature.

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We have already seen, that such Turkish women as are not to be procured on any other terms than marriage, and are not previously to be seen, are under the same necessity of living amongst themselves. In such a case, what must be their education? Born in opulence; they are either the daughters of a lawful wife, or of some slave, the favourite of a moment. Their brothers and sisters are of different mothers, who differ in no respect from slaves collected in the same house. Occupied only by that jealousy which animates them, one against another, scarcely knowing how to read or write, and reading nothing but the Coran; exposed in the hot baths to all the inconveniencies of a forced perspiration, too frequently repeated not to destroy the freshness of their skin, and the grace of their contours, even before the age of puberty; indolent from pride, and often humbled by the inefficacy of the means practised under their eyes to gratify their proprietor; destined, in short, themselves to the same fate, without a hope of more success, in what can such women contribute

bute to render the man happy who may chance to marry them? But it is not from that source that he looks for happiness. Let us see then, whether he has made a better estimate of the advantage of multiplying those slaves who have a right to choose; whom he may marry without ceremony; and over whom he possesses, no doubt, a more precious right—the right of restoring them to their freedom.

It is here that I wish to draw the attention to those Georgian and Circassian slaves, whose beauty has been so often celebrated; and it is perhaps of more importance to ascertain the laws of slavery in Turkey, where the manners are already culpable enough, without suffering a vague and erroneous opinion to add still further to their atrocity.

Neither the Greeks, the Armenians, nor even the Jews, are more liable than the Turks, to a constitutional slavery. The despotism of the Sultan himself, however strong his passion for her, does not enable him to take violent possession of a young woman;

woman ; and though the Grecian blood still continues to produce as beautiful female forms as served for models to Praxiteles, the Turkish annals do not furnish an example of such atrocious violence.

Georgia and Circassia are no more subject to slavery, than any other province more directly under the dominion of the Grand Signior * ; but the want of lawful right is supplied by the right of conquest, which procured for the Turks near twenty thousand slaves, who were carried off by the Kam of the Tartars from New Servia ; the greatest part of whom were restored to Russia at the peace. *Krim Gueray*, who commanded that expedition, had, from the same principle of right, laid waste Moldavia on a former occasion, without respecting the Grand Signior's territory. The same right of war obtains in Turkey, when a whole revolted province is given

* Georgia is rather one of the dependencies of Persia than of Turkey ; but Prince Heraclius has availed himself of the troubles which have laid waste the dominions of his sovereign, to enjoy a sort of independence.

up to pillage, and its inhabitants reduced to slavery. This is the *droit public*, or *ius publicum* throughout all Asia; and it is on these barbarous principles that one half of the globe is still governed, and that Georgia and Circassia continue to furnish with slaves, the market of Constantinople †.

The incursions of the Lefguis Tartars provide it with a regular supply: These Tartars inhabit the country between the Caspian and the Black Sea, between Georgia and Circassia; and are in a perpetual state of warfare with these two provinces. They convey their slaves to the eastern coast of the Black Sea, and sell them to the Turkish merchants, who resort there at stated periods. The inhabitants of that coast carry off also their own countrymen from the neighbouring villages, and make a trade of selling them; and it is asserted, that even the parents, not un-

† The idea attached to a handsome Georgian or Circassian slave, may be reduced to this;—all the slaves in Turkey who are tolerably beautiful, must be either Georgians or Circassians; but this, by no means, proves that they are all handsome.

frequently

frequently, make a traffic of their own children.

A country colder from its mountainous situation, than from its latitude; inhabited by people, so wretched as to sell their own offspring; so ill-regulated as to suffer them to be stolen; so weak as to become an easy prey to foreign plunderers, is not likely to possess in itself any sort of refinement or education. The children, therefore, are the only slaves whose beauty can be cultivated, and who are capable of acquiring the graces. The avarice of the merchant will pay particular attention to this object; and he will even endeavour to increase the value of his slave, by some agreeable accomplishment, and an indecent dance, accompanied by castanets, will be the strongest recommendation.

Lady Mary Montague says, that these dances are voluptuous. For my own part, I have seen them in their highest perfection, performed by proficients in the art; yet, although I am at a loss for a proper term

term to characterise them, I should never think of calling them voluptuous.

And, I may further add, that the women dancers are despised in Turkey ; and that a slave, as soon as she has pleased her master by this talent, ceases to exercise it.

So that, in fact, they only serve to awaken and excite the passions of those machines, on whom indecency produces more effect than beauty. The graces, vivacity, and expression, possess alone the art of seducing us, exclusive even of regularity of features ; whilst a listless dignity, a profound ignorance, give a certain insipidity even to finished beauty. And this is the effect which the Turkish women produce on their masters.

I have had the opportunity of personal information from my Turkish friends, that except in the instance of some new slave, who may excite their curiosity, the harem inspires them only with disgust. A great many Turks never enter their harem, but to restore tranquility, when the female super-intendant is unequal to the task ;

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but let the punishment be ever so severe, it is impossible to eradicate the causes of this irregularity. These disorders, arising from the confinement and assemblage of many wives, are another consequence of the law of plurality. Nature counteracted equally in either sex, must necessarily lead both astray.

This exclusive society of the women produces also this effect, that being constantly observed by their companions, they do not even endeavour to dissemble, either their taste or their jealousy; they have only to conceal their quarrels. Too fortunate, indeed, if nature calmed, gratified, and deceived, does not urge them to escape from their prison, to run after the reality; an excess of which they are invariably the victims, and which I shall hereafter have occasion to mention.

But, however the customs of the country may have restricted the Turkish women, it must not be imagined that they are without the power of sending their slaves, or of going out themselves, to purchase

chase what they want ; I do not know a single Turk who deprives them of that liberty ; nay, they very frequently go out together to walk, or pay a visit in other harems ; and in the latter case, the etiquette obliges the Turk, for whose wives the visit is intended, not to enter his harem during the stay of the visitants. But how many methods are there of evading this regulation ; and if the parties be well inclined, who is there to insist on its being regularly observed ?

But because the streets are filled with women, who pass freely to and fro on business, and the harems the most closely shut, are not unfrequently thrown open, to let the flock, confined in them, amuse themselves with a walk ; we must not thence conclude, with Lady Mary Montague, that the intrigues are carried on in the shops, into which the women sometimes enter : they would there be too easily observed. It is in the country, in retired situations, on the borders of the sea, that their gallantries actually take place ; heed-

less of the danger of being discovered by the guards, who are always prying into the most concealed retirements.

The *Bostandgy Bachi*, whose authority always extends several leagues around the Grand Signior's residence, has, in fact, the inspection of these so much talked of affairs of gallantry, and exercises, in that respect, the office of Lieutenant of Police. It is the most important perquisite of his employment, and is attended with the most frightful abuses. But I shall have occasion to speak further of this in the course of my observations, and I have already said enough of the Turkish women, to prepare my reader for what remains upon that subject.

MEMOIRS

M E M O I R S
OF THE
B A R O N de T O T T.

FIRST PART.

THE death of Sultan Mahomout, and of M. D'Salleurs, determined the Court of France to send M. de Vergennes to Constantinople; and I was ordered to accompany him, to learn the language, and to study the manners and government of the Turks. We embarked at Marseilles, in a vessel freighted by the King, from whence we set sail at the beginning of April, 1755; but contrary winds prevented us from reaching the Dardanelles, until the 18th of May. Before we arrived

at the Streight, we perceived a caravelle * belonging to the Grand Signior, at anchor opposite to Tenedos, and her felucca, which was sent to reconnoitre, bearing down, and she came up with us opposite the coast of Troy ; but fearing the plague, we were desirous of avoiding all communication with them. My late father, whom the King sent with M. de Vergennes to Constantinople, where he had already been several times, and who spoke the language, prevailed on the Turks not to come on board, and thought it proper to reward the officer who commanded the felucca, with a few bottles of cordial : The cabin-boy who went to seek for this present, brought up six bottles of lavender water, and was ordered to rectify the mistake ; but my father declaring that it was perfectly the same thing, we gave them the lavender water, and parted company ; but the impatience of the Turk soon attracted our attention : he seized on one of the phials,

* A Turkish vessel of war.

broke

broke off the neck, emptied it at one draught, and turning round, made us a sign of approbation. We were all afraid, except my father, that the poor fellow would fall backwards ; but were very soon made easy on his account, on seeing him open, and empty, a second phial with the same tokens of satisfaction.

Very soon after we entered the Streight of the Dardanelles, and furled our colours, to avoid the salute from the castles, and the Captain Pacha, † whose fleet was at anchor off Gallipoli ; and we cast anchor at length in the port of Constantinople, the 21st of May, 1755.

This city, situated at the eastern extremity of Europe, near the Black Sea, is only separated from Asia by the Thracian Bosphorus. The canal which forms a communication between two seas, pours into the southern part, the superfluous waters which rush from the North into the Black Sea, and which its surface 's unable

† The Turkish Admiral.

to evaporate. To this effect, the currents are violent down the canal, and bear on the point of the Seraglio which forms a Cape, that divides, and intercepts one part of the waters, which, after having circulated in the harbour, return by the opposite shore, and re-enter their former bed. It is owing to this mechanism of Nature, that the harbour of Constantinople is cleared of all its rubbish, and of the filth that is daily thrown into it. The sea in this case operating for herself, what ignorance never could foresee, and ships of eighty guns can lay a plank on the shore without any danger.

If the ambition of governing the universe searched for a situation the most favourable for establishing a capital of the world, that of Constantinople, as represented on the map, would undoubtedly have the preference. Situated between two seas, this city would form at once the center of the most useful productions, and of the most flourishing commerce, were it not for the pressure of that despotism
which

which, for twenty leagues around, breaks in pieces every instrument of culture, and of industry. Shut up within the limits of its ancient walls, Constantinople, on the land side, offers to the traveller nothing but the appearance of destruction; whilst the navigator, placed in the centre of an immense amphi-theatre, seems to croud from all parts to bring the tribute which the universe owes to its metropolis.

The ancient Byzantium, whose walls at present form the enclosure of the Grand Signior's Seraglio, situated on the extremity of the Cape which shuts in the harbour, presents a forest of cypress trees, overtopped by an infinite number of leaden cupolas, enriched with golden balls, the whole forming a pyramid, with the tower of the Divan, which crowns the summit. This dusky groupe appears detached from the rest of the landscape, which is only varied by some large scattered buildings of too heavy an architecture for the surrounding objects.

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The harbour, from the point of the Seraglio, to the fresh water †, renders one side of the triangle, formed by Constantinople, two thousand toises longer than the others : on the opposite shore are immense suburbs, which, including the town of Galata, furnish a landscape, whose richness is still further increased and varied by the continued chain of villages that join and are confounded together on the banks of the Bosphorus, even to within six leagues of the Black Sea. These buildings are continued on the side of Asia, and unite at Scutary; which place, situated three quarters of a league from the entrance of the harbour, offers to Constantinople itself, a

† The small river which falls into the sea at the bottom of the harbour, and waters the Valley of Kiahana, is so called. The Grand Signior has a Kiosk in that valley; and Sultan Achmet, pretending to imitate Marly, invited all his Court to build on the two declivities which form the banks of the river; but these buildings were destroyed by the rebels who deposed Sultan Achmet. The prejudices of the Turks, invariably at enmity with all European imitations, were the pretext for this destruction; the real motive was the love of plunder.

most

most-interesting prospect. The boats that are continually traversing the space between the two towns, seem to form a junction, Europe with Asia. Other vessels are employed every morning to transport the inhabitants of the villages of the Bosphorus to their labours in the capital, by which they are maintained, and to convey them home every evening; besides which, an infinite number of smaller boats are passing in every direction, to supply the occasional wants of the inhabitants; and if to this be added, the transport vessels daily arriving with provisions for the capital, from the Black Sea and the Archipelago; and the general activity of the foreign commerce that supplies this city with luxuries and cloathing from every quarter of the world, one can scarcely conceive the beauty of this perpetually moving picture.

But if nothing can equal the prospect of Constantinople from without, the charm soon vanishes on entering the town: the greatest part of the streets so narrow, as
that

that the projection of the roofs scarcely leaves admission for the light ; a pavement of pebbles badly taken care of ; and no attention to cleanliness : these are amongst the disagreeable circumstances of that capital. But I shall reserve the particulars of other inconveniencies, as they occur occasionally, and in succession.

Convinced that the study of the Turkish language could alone give me an insight into the manners and customs of that people, I made it my first object ; and I would not listen to those who advised me to begin by reading the travellers who have treated on the oriental nations ; for it struck me, that I had more to apprehend from the danger of adopting their errors, than would compensate for any time and trouble they might save me.

My Turkish master began by teaching me to write, which is their method. The knowledge I had of drawing, helped me in my progress ; at length I was able to read, and then my difficulties began to multiply :
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the suppression of the vowels † is sufficient to give an idea of my first embarrassment, and of the difficult and irksome task I had undertaken ; but this is not all ; the Turks, to supply the poverty of their language, have entirely adopted the Arabic and Persian ; and by composing five alphabets, the different characters of which are at the arbitrary disposal of the writer, have thrown fresh obstacles in the way of instruction ; so that if the life of a man be scarcely sufficient to learn to read well, what time will there remain for him to select his authors, or to profit by what he has read ?

The ignorance of the Turks in every thing that concerns the abstract sciences, must be attributed, in great measure, to this inconvenience : wholly occupied in painting well, and in decyphering their

† The vowels being only expressed by signs placed without the body of the writing, the writers leave them to be supplied by the ingenuity of the reader ; from thence arise many literary disputes on the consonants, the use of which may change the sense : but to avoid the danger of such discussions of the Coran, that book is never written without vowels.

characters, their conceitedness gives them a turn for difficulties of that kind; a double meaning, the transposition of letters, forms the extent of their studies, and their literature; and every thing that can be inverted by false taste, to fatigue the mind, constitutes their delight, and excites their admiration.

My language master, of Persian extraction, and a great enthusiast in poetry, used to get drunk indifferently with opium, or with brandy; and I passed two hours every day in this agreeable tête à tête. I employed myself particularly in making use of all the words I could store up in my memory; and I was no sooner able to understand him, than he asked me one day, with great earnestness, what smell it was he had perceived on entering my apartment? I shewed him a bottle of lavender water; and the example of the captain of the fellucca induced me to consent to make the sacrifice which he desired, without hesitation; and which he bore without suffering the slightest inconvenience. I did not think
proper

proper, however, to continue to supply him with so dangerous a draught.

My application to collect a number of words ; and above all, my anxiety to employ them, enabled me, in a very short time, to explain myself very tolerably ; and I was already able to do without an interpreter, when M. de Vergennes gave orders to prepare an entertainment intended for the foreign ministers, and all the Europeans settled at Constantinople, This excited the curiosity of some Turks of distinction, who were desirous of being present ; and I undertook to do the honours to them, the more readily from the fresh opportunity it afforded me of practising their language.

I was newly married, and the intimacy that subsisted between the principal person amongst those Turks, and my father in law, added greatly to that favourable opinion with which my zeal for information had already inspired him. On his arrival, he begged me to point out to him Madam de Tott from amongst the ladies ; and becoming

coming very soon attentive to her most trifling motions, he followed her with his eyes, and appeared uneasy, if in the croud, she escaped an instant from his sight. Excepting this anxiety, the coup d'œil of the entertainment appeared totally to absorb my Turks, who put various questions to me on this new scene, not less amusing than instructive.

The ball is opened by a minuet; I am asked who is the gentleman that dances?—It is the Swedish Envoy. “What!” says the Turk to me with surprize, “the Envoy from Sweden?—The Minister of a Court in alliance with the Sublime Porte!—No, that is impossible.—You are mistaken;—look again.” “I am not mistaken,” said I, “it is he; yes, it is he himself.” The Turk at length convinced, cast down his eyes, fell into reflection, and was silent until the end of that minuet, which was followed by another. A fresh question to know the dancer? “It is the Dutch Ambassador.” “Oh! as for that,” says the Turk, gravely, “I never will

will believe it. I know very well," continued he, "to what a height the Ambassador of France can carry his magnificence; and notwithstanding my surprize, I can carry that idea so far as to conceive that he is rich enough to make a minister of the second order dance; but at what price can he obtain that service from an Ambassador? There cannot, possibly, exist between them so enormous a difference."

I made use of all the Turkish words I knew to explain to him, that these ministers were the object of the entertainment; that they were not paid for that purpose, but danced for their pleasure; and that the Ambassador of France himself would dance: with difficulty I convinced him. Another object, however, which he undoubtedly thought more interesting, very soon occupied his attention. "I do not see your wife!" said he, "Oh! yes; there she is; but somebody is talking to her! Run and interrupt the conversation." "Why so?" said I. He then explained himself more clearly; and I was

endeavouring to satisfy him, when Madam de Tott, continuing her conversation, went into the room where the company was at play, and disappeared. Seeing this, the Turk losing all patience, rises, and draws me after him. I suffered him to draw me along, and soon found that the sight of several tables, where the men were disputing about play, was not the spectacle with which his friendship had alarmed him on my account.

Supper was served, and my friend seeing the company place themselves at different tables, was inclined to go. An uneasiness of a more serious nature appeared to agitate him. I pressed him to stay till the end of the entertainment. "Everything finished," said he briskly; "they are preparing to drink. Permit us to go; and if you will follow my advice, take your wife, and withdraw likewise." "I understand you," said I; "but do not be uneasy; every thing will pass more peaceably than you imagine." I insisted upon it, and succeeded in conducting my curious friends

friends around all the tables, and in making them sit down at that which was prepared for them. A few glasses of cordial gave them courage, and completely gained them; they staid till morning, and gave me to understand, that if such an entertainment were to be given amongst them, it would not terminate without thirty murders.

The knowledge I began to acquire of their character, induced me to form such connections as were capable of extending it. Amongst those whose acquaintance I more particularly cultivated, was Murad Molach, of the family of Damat Zade, which from the period of the conquest of Constantinople, has, in every generation, given Muftis to the empire; and who was himself destined for that dignity. I shall very often have occasion to speak of this person; and the observations I shall make on him, will serve to elucidate the character of his nation.

To follow, as nearly as possible, the chain of events to which I have been a wit-

ness, let us cast an eye on those conflagrations which ravage Constantinople too frequently not to deserve to be mentioned. I shall select the most striking instance of this kind; I mean the fire which consumed two thirds of that immense city a short time after our arrival.

The Palace of France, situated in the suburb of Pera, overlooks the town and harbour of Constantinople. The fire broke out in the morning near to the shore and the walls of the Seraglio. The wind, which was northerly, made the fire run along these walls; and about seven o'clock reached the Palace of the Visir, situated on the middle of the hill. The Grand Signior was present; but neither his orders, nor the efforts which were made to prevent it, could save that vast building from the flames; and the focus which it formed gave new activity to them. The fire continued to extend itself in the direction of the wind, with the greatest rapidity. We were in hopes, however, that in approaching the church of St. Sophia, the mass of that
building

building would stop the conflagration ; and accordingly all the succours were directed to that quarter, in expectation of stopping the progress of the flames ; but the lead of the cupola, melted by the heat of the atmosphere, running through the stone gutters on the heads of the guards and workmen, left a full scope to the activity of the fire. From that moment, nobody thought of stopping it ; and it was suffered to devour every thing which fell in its way in the direction of the wind, as far as the walls of the Admiralty, on the other side of the hill. The consternation was general ; yet every one congratulated himself at seeing the fire arrived at that period ; when the wind shifting round with violence to the east, carried that line of fire across the town for more than twelve hundred toises, (or about seven thousand eight hundred English feet ;) the flames then rushing towards the center of the city, formed thirteen distinct branches of fire, the roots of which successively uniting,

Constantinople very soon became a burning sea.

The efforts which were then made, instead of being serviceable, only added to the calamity : a whole regiment of Janissaries, employed in beating down some houses, at the head of one of the branches, were surrounded by two lateral branches of the fire. The cries of the unfortunate wretches conveyed through the column of fire, with those of the women and children who were suffering the same fate ; the crash of the falling buildings ; the crackling of the flaming planks, which were carried into the air by the violence of the heat ; the tumult of the inhabitants, threatened by the conflagration in every quarter, and who, to secure themselves from the most dreadful misery, were exposing their lives to save a part of their effects ; every thing conspired to render it a scene, the accumulated horror of which is not to be described.

But it is still more inconceivable, that the rebuilding of these houses was not yet completed,

completed, before a fresh fire consumed them, without the inhabitants having it in their power to use any precaution for their safety. Sultan Osman, then upon the Throne, strove in vain to enlarge some of the streets, and open some new ones, to facilitate the necessary assistance: The proprietors joined in insisting on the entire possession of the ground left them by their fathers. The government which had only known how to give orders when it was necessary to pay, was so weak as to give way to this opposition, which might have been so easily surmounted. Such is despotism.

It might have been foreseen, that the robberies which are easily committed under the pretence of giving assistance to the houses in the neighbourhood of the fire, had very often been the cause of those conflagrations; and the government thinking to remedy that evil, by forbidding any person to endeavour to extinguish them until the arrival of the principal officers, only contribute to increase it. It was, in

fact, giving time to the flames to acquire activity. That law, therefore, was abolished, the number of fire-engines augmented, and instead of being kept, as heretofore, at the houses of the governors of each quarter, were distributed to the different guard-houses, from whence the guards had orders to convey them on the first alarm. But what were the consequences of this regulation? That the persons who have the management of the engines, displayed their activity with no other view than to extort money for the protection of the unfortunate, and to play upon the croud for their amusement; that the guards, familiarized with these disasters, make a sport of them, and add to the public misery, by ill treating the wretched sufferers; that the workmen inconsiderately throw into the fire, instead of removing the materials, which feed the flame, and that the multitude are intent upon plundering on all sides §.

The

§ The law has condemned the robbers in this sort of pillage to be thrown into the flames; but the habit

The *Visir*, and all the great officers of the Porte, are obliged to appear on the spot, on the first intelligence of fire, to give the necessary directions. The Grand Signior himself never fails to appear if the fire makes any progress: the means of conveying him are ready on the first signal; he has a number of horses saddled, night and day, and armed boats ready for that purpose. The great officers use the same precaution, and these disagreeable expeditions, which are frequent, very often interrupt their sleep.

It is the duty of the guardians of the quarters, who are called *Passevans*, to watch for fires during the night. They run through their district, armed with large

bit of beholding a number of wretches perish in that way, from the frequency and rapidity of the fires, produces this effect, that the danger to which one is every day exposed oneself, considered as a punishment, is from that circumstance, reduced pretty nearly to the misfortune of dying in one's bed. The severest punishments alone will never establish good order: it is the result of an enlightened attention, which despotism never makes use of.

large sticks, tipped with iron, which they strike against the pavement, and awaken the people with the cry of *yangen vor* ; or, there is a fire ; and point out the quarter where it has appeared. A very high tower in the palace of the Janissary Aga, as well as another at Galata, overlook all Constantinople ; and there is a guard in each of these towers, constantly looking out for the same object. It is there that a sort of *larum*, formed by beating two large drums, quickens the alarm, and conveys it rapidly down the canal, from whence a vast concourse of persons who are interested run to their shops, as they often find them burnt or pillaged.

It is for this reason that the *Besestins* have been built, either by the body of merchants, or by individuals, who let out the warehouses, as places of security for the more precious merchandise, out of the reach of the flames, or to preserve them from plunder, in case of an insurrection, or a fire. These buildings, which serve at the same time as streets, are built of
hewn

hewn stone, and vaulted the whole length with brick. Each of them contains articles nearly of the same kind; but if those of the goldsmith are of the most value, it is neither from their taste, nor workmanship. I shall have occasion in another place to speak of the industry of the Turks.

After the misfortune of which I have been speaking, the residence of the Grand Signior's Ministers was transferred, until the palace of the Grand Visir should be rebuilt, to the palace of a Sultana, which had escaped the fire; and M. de Vergennes, who had hitherto borne only the title of Envoy of France, having obtained that of Ambassador, prepared to deliver his new credentials.

Said Effendi, the same who had been Ambassador in France, was at that time Grand Visir. We went to his audience, without intending to go to that of the Grand Signior before the second Tuesday, the

the first being too near * ; but the Sultan, who was incognito at the Porte †, gave M. de Vergennes to understand that he would receive him the next day. This Prince, of a passionate, but feeble character, impatient, and curious to excess, afforded us on our return a very singular exhibition. We found him disguised as a man of the law, and accompanied only by his Seliçtar ‡, and his Devitdar §, both disguised

* The Grand Signior never gives audience to Ambassadors but on Tuesdays, which is the day of the Divan of the Seraglio. He stays on the ground-floor of a square tower, which bears his name. The Visir, as well as the great Judges of Europe and of Asia, the Grand Treasurer, &c. are seated on benches, which go round the hall. Above the Visir's seat, opposite to the gate, is a small window, with bars, and raised about nine or ten feet, from whence the Grand Signior can hear every thing which passes in the Divan; but from whence, as he is made to believe, he neither can be poniarded, nor can he poniard any other person.

† This signifies the residence of the Visir, where all the public offices are kept, and all the other officers of the Porte sit in the day time, to carry on the affairs of their respective departments.

‡ The Sword-bearer, who executes the office of Grand Chamberlain, and Captain of the Guards.

§ Secretary, and Keeper of the Royal papers.

disguised as Tchoadars *. He had stopt in one of the streets, to see us pass, and the line of our march lying through the *Atmeydan* †, we very soon saw the Prince, sometimes running by the side of us, and at others shortening his pace near the Ambassador, whom he accompanied to the end of that place, when again running on, he passed the street at the head of the first line of people, and entering by one of the gates of the garden of the Seraglio, went out towards the Admiralty, to fall in with us again on the Pier ‡, where we embarked, and where he remained till our departure, after which he re-entered, and we lost sight of him.

I could not help remarking, that during the whole time this Prince accompanied us in the place of the Hippodromos, where our appearance had attracted many curious people, not one of them made the smallest movement

* Servants who attend their masters on foot.

† Place of the Hippodromos.

‡ A sort of jettee of stone, or planks on piles, to facilitate the approach of boats for the purpose of embarkation and disembarkation.

movement tending to him, though there was not one of them who did not know him, and who was not terrified at his presence. But it is the nature of despotism to command, and to make them dissemble even their very fears.

I shall not enter into a detail of the ceremonial of the Grand Signior's audience: travellers have already said enough of it to make me silent, on the subject of the various humiliations that Ambassadors experience on such occasions: it will be more useful to discuss the methods of avoiding them; and I describe only the manners of the Turks.

It was remarkable, however, in this audience, that the Grand Signior, instead of addressing himself to his Visir, to convey his answer, addressed himself directly to M. de Vergennes, to whom the Drogman of the Porte translated it, and which was conceived in terms full of esteem for that Ambassador, and by no means framed on principles of etiquette. This answer could not have been premeditated, but proceed

ceeded spontaneously, from a sort of affability in the Prince.

Sultan Osman, in other respects little capable of that energy so often necessary to a despotic sovereign, made up for this deficiency by an habitual impatience and frequent fits of passion. Selictar-Pacha, young, full of confidence, and proud of the favour of his master, who had raised him to the Visiriate, thought he might give himself up, without fear and without restraint, to such violent measures, as, from their frequent repetition, excited a general murmur. These complaints, which always with difficulty reach the Throne, came very readily to the knowledge of the Sultan, in the walks he took incognito; and that Prince, enraged at his favourite, made him attend at the Seraglio, in presence of the Mufti, whom he had sent for on the occasion. The violence of his passion was so great, that laying hold of a pile of arms, he would himself have struck him, had not the chief of the law interposed. To restrain his first emotion, increased no doubt the anger of
Sultan

Sultan Osman ; for his victim was very soon dispatched, and the Visir ordered out of the inner apartment ; but followed by an order, was stopped between the two gates §. The Solicitor-Aga took from him the seal of the empire, and his head, struck off upon the spot, was exposed on a silver plate at the gate of the second Court, before there was the least suspicion of this first minister's loss of favour ||.

The Ulemats, that celebrated body of lawyers, who never fail to seize the feeble remains of authority, to oppress authority itself, who had until then been kept under subjection by the influence of the Visir, imagined, that after his death, they could bear their sway with more impunity. The Ulemats,

§ The passage from the first court of the Seraglio into the second is shut in by two gates, between which there are apartments in the towers, which flank the entry ; the Porters occupy a part of it, but the principal apartment is called the Dgellate Odassi, the Hangman's Chamber.

|| There was a writing likewise in the following words :—" It is thus all persons are treated who abuse the favour of their master."

Ulemats, in fact, abused the weakness of the Sultan to such a degree, as could not fail of drawing down his vengeance on that body, and his fury broke forth against the Mufti.

Fanaticism, which every where produces sanguinary, or absurd laws, and often both, has established one in Turkey in favour of these Ulemats, by which their property cannot be confiscated, nor can they be punished with death in any other way than by pounding them in a mortar. One does not very well see the pleasure of such a pre-eminence; but it is not difficult to perceive that the examples of so terrible a punishment must be less frequent, from the interest these men of the law have in preventing their repetition. It was, without doubt, under the idea of this impunity, that the Mufti received with insolence the menaces of his master; and this resistance irritated Sultan Osman so much, that he ordered the mortars to be dug up which had been buried by length of time. This order alone produ-

ced the most decided effect. The body of Ulemats, justly terrified, were all submission, and the famous Rachub Pacha, who was appointed Visir, governed without opposition.

Rachub united to the most engaging manners, great strength of character. Never did a Visir possess more the talents necessary for his situation. He knew how to corrupt with address, and to overawe the most audacious; always treacherous, always malignant, but always able, and perfect master of himself, he set little value upon mankind, and looked upon their lives as nothing.

This Minister had formerly been Pacha of Cairo, the place in all the empire the least adapted to his character. The undisciplined state of the Bey-Mamelucs, propped up however by force, had left him no other resource but corruption for his support, without being the less exposed to acts of violence. He had just escaped from the shot of a pistol, fired at him in his own Divan, when the Grand Signior called

led him to the Vifirate. Rachub joined to all the talents necessary to despotism, the most useful general knowledge of the affairs of the empire, which he had acquired at the treaty of Belgrade, when he had filled the post of Mektoubtchy*.

The various employments through which this Minister had successively passed, leaving no person the hope of becoming necessary to him, he found every body disposed to be subservient to his will; and it was very soon remarked, that the habit of authority had taught him to express his orders in a very wanton manner.

The interval between the death of Selictar Pacha, and the elevation of Rachub to the Vifirate, had been filled by a great number of Vifirs, some of whom were not fifteen days in office. We were tired of the frequent audiences occasioned by these changes, but it was necessary, neverthe-

* Mektoubtchy is a Minister of the Porte of the second order: This place can only be compared to that of the first Clerk of the first Minister, if such a one existed.

less, to appear at that of the new Minister. The ceremonies usual on these occasions were at an end; but Rachub was continuing a friendly conversation with the Ambassador, when the Muzar Aga* coming into the hall, and approaching the Pacha, whispered a word in his ear. We observed very plainly that the only answer he received was by a slight horizontal movement of the hand; after which his Highness immediately resuming an agreeable smile, proceeded to converse a few minutes longer with the Ambassador. We left the hall of audience at length, to regain the bottom of the stair-case, where we mounted our horses, and nine heads cut off, and ranged on the outside of the first gate, explained to us in passing, the meaning of the gesture which the Visir made use of in our presence.

The inutility of precipitating in such a manner an execution which he could command at any time with the greatest ease,

* This answers to the office of Grand Prevot in France.

may lead one to presume, that this was preconcerted, in order to give us an opinion of the speedy justice of the new Minister, but we could discover nothing in this scene but its atrocity. This is the main-spring of despotism ; it always overwhelms, but never punishes : and these were the means constantly employed by Rachub ‡.

But if the great men of the empire were compelled to submit to the use this Visir made of his political principles, it was reserved for a woman of the lower class of the people to resist him with impunity ; and as the nature of the sedition she occasioned is connected with the subsistence of Constantinople, it is important to lay open that part of the Turkish administration.

The Grand Signior, who makes a public monopoly of the corn, for the supply of the capital, receives that article from the

‡ Under a despotic government, the existence of every man in place must be necessarily precarious ; and no one can there gratify his ambition by filling them, without being indifferent about his own life. What value can he then be supposed to set on the lives of others?

maritime provinces, where he has established the impost Tchetirach †, which consists in an obligation to deliver to the Grand Signior, at a very low price, a stipulated quantity of corn, which is conveyed into his store-houses by vessels freighted for his account. This article he sells again in retail to the bakers, who are obliged to receive and make use of it at the price fixed by his Highness. The necessary consequence of this method of administering affairs are, the prohibition of the exportation of corn, the unavoidable knavery of the officers, who evade the order, the perishing of the grain which is stored, and badly taken care of, very often unwholesome, and famine, is the last result.

Constantinople was threatened with this calamity; bread diminished in weight was considerably augmented in price; the bakers had even begun to adulterate it, and the only remaining hopes of a fresh supply

† The produce of this monopoly belongs to the the Public Treasure: the management of it is entrusted to the Testerdar (Grand Treasurer.)

of corn, depended on the arrival of seventy vessels expected from the Black Sea ; when intelligence was received of the loss of all those vessels, cast away on the coast, by missing, in the night, the entrance of the Canal. Constantinople was in consternation, and one cannot think, without horror, that this accident was occasioned by a kind of abuse, which would not appear credible, did it not even now continue frequently to occur.

Two very lofty light-houses are placed at the mouth of the Black Sea, on the two promontories of Asia and of Europe, to point out the entrance of the Canal, to navigators. The government provides the oil necessary for the consumption, and guards are paid for the daily lighting and supplying them ; but this government allows, at the same time, the making of charcoal along the whole coast, although they might have foreseen, that under this pretence the inhabitants would kindle fires capable of deceiving and misguiding the mariner, in stormy weather. They ought

also to have known, that the guards of the two light-houses would intercept the light of the lanterns, that vessels might be cast way, and they profit by the wreck §.

The first method adopted by the government to remedy this misfortune, was, by a general order throughout the empire to take the seed corn from the husbandmen. The subsequent distresses of which they were laying the foundation, were overlooked by the interest of the moment; the sole interest of despotism. Not only the ground corn, but beans and all kinds of pulse were seized on, and avarice, which avails itself of every event, got possession, all sorts of provision, for the purpose of adulterating its quality, yet without supplying the quantity demanded.

It became necessary to place guards on the ovens, which were perpetually besieged

§ Humanity once abandoned to injustice, very soon makes a sport of every crime. One disorder always produces a greater, which is more certain when the laws authorize it by their example. Is there a legislator who ought not to tremble at this dilemma?

by

by a famished people : a cake of dough, badly baked, was all that was delivered to each person ; and the Turks, presenting themselves, pistol or sword in hand, committed all sorts of outrages.

In the midst of this distress, which had occasioned the rice likewise to be hoarded, the firmness of the Visir had hitherto maintained a sort of tranquility in the city, when a woman of the lower class, old, but fearless of danger, raising a mob amongst the women of her quarter, very soon increased her troop, and hurried towards the granaries of rice, insulting the guards, who demanded, on the road, the reason of this riotous assembly ? The Janissary Aga *, flies to the place with a numerous guard, but is repulsed by a shower of stones, the rice magazines are forced, and the pillage begun, when the Grand Signior arrives in person ; the old woman advanced towards him, and insulted him with menaces, openly defying the power of his soldiers ;

* The General of the Infantry.

she harangues him with intrepidity, prevails upon, or rather makes him feel the necessity of giving way, obtains a portion of rice for each of her combatants, and dismisses her victorious band.

The excess of the abuses, however, which had produced a temporary restoration of order, procured, for some time, the supply necessary for commerce; the famine disappeared; but the diseases arising from the unwholesome nourishment, adding to the exhalations of the plague, that dreadful scourge began its ravages, and spread throughout the empire.

The researches which have been made into the causes of that disorder, have been hitherto productive only of opinions, either contradictory or belied by facts. It was thought to be of Egyptian origin; but it will appear, from my observations made in these countries, that this last conjecture is absolutely without foundation.

But, whatever be the cause or origin, the focus which preserves it, and the causes by which it is propagated, are clearly ascertained.

tained. Both one and the other arise from the dealers in old cloaths, and the conduct of individuals, at Constantinople, who preserve in their chests, not only the cloaths, but even the furs of those who have died of the plague. This is taking, undoubtedly the most effectual method to foment and perpetuate the seeds of the disorder. It attacks infallibly those persons who are susceptible of it from the state of their body, and its progress is more rapid in that season when the humours are in fermentation.

It was therefore towards the beginning of the spring following the scarcity, that the first symptoms of the plague began to make their appearance, which carried off, in that year, upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand souls in the city of Constantinople alone; and the number of dead was so great, as to authorize public prayers to God for a cessation of this calamity; for it may be proper to observe, that the Turks bear it patiently, and without a murmur, until the daily list of burials, which

which pass through the single gate of Adrianople, amounts to 999. This is the stated terms of their resignation !

Neither the beginning, nor the different periods of this distemper, excite any further attention than what arises from the frequency of the burials ; but this scourge interrupts no business, and the movement occasioned by them keeps up the communication, and increases the progress of the evil. There is no reason, however, from observation, to imagine, that the air contributes toward it ; and habit which familiarizes us with the greatest disasters, and the most certain dangers, procures as ready an assistance for the sick, as in the slightest epidemical fevers. The Turks still find their greatest security in a blind predestination.

The Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews, who do not carry this prejudice to the same excess, have studied a sort of remedy which they make use of with some success, but never until the first attacks of the distemper are allayed ; but it is remarkable
that

that each of these nations has adopted a different regimen, peculiar to itself, and this singularity must be attributed, no doubt, to the difference in their food. It is, however, the surest method not to adopt this fact, which is asserted by several physicians, but for whose credibility I will not answer.

The Europeans are the only persons who take any precautions against the infection; long habit makes them too frequently neglectful, but never without the greatest risque; and those who are not compelled to an absolute residence, withdraw themselves the more readily into the country during the plague; as that disorder, which begins its ravages in the spring, usually last until the beginning of winter. The Isle of Princes, situated five leagues from Constantinople, at the entrance of the gulph which forms the Sea of Marmora, was the place to which the French formerly gave the preference; they are since dispersed in different villages on the borders of the Canal, on the European side;

sider; and the Ambassadors in general, and the merchants of every nation, reside in the villages of Tarapia and Buyukdere; that of Belgrade, celebrated for the residence of Lady Mary Montague, was for a long time preferred; but the air, which is become unwholesome, has made it lose that preference.

I had made choice of the small village of Keffely Keuy, to get out of the way of all communication during the plague, of which I have been speaking. This village is situated near to Buyukdere, where Murad Mollach had his summer residence, and took some liberties to the great scandal of all true believers. I went to pay him a visit, and his taste for drunkenness, which I was able to supply; and my zeal for information, which he could also gratify, made us more intimate.

This Effendi †, born in opulence, son of the Mufti, and destined himself to the Pontificate, knew no other law than his pleasure.

† Effendi, a man of the law.

Surrounded

Surrounded by numerous domestics, always ready to execute his orders, he had assumed the property and the criminal jurisdiction of the village of Buyukdere; he had also extended his pretensions to the two neighbouring villages. Favours, oppressions, every thing there depended on him; and the government, far from opposing the usurpation, by dismissing the complainants, added to their misfortunes that of having made a fruitless complaint, and the danger of having made any complaint at all. Another method, as effectual of getting possession of other men's property, had for a long time furnished Murad Mollach with the sums necessary for his expences, and never did man know better how to multiply them. I have known him, while he was Kadi-lesker ||, possess

|| Kadi-lesker, this word should be Kadi-el-afker; these three words signify Judge of the Troops, of whom there are two, one for Europe, and one for Asia; this last has the precedence of the other: they are the two Chief Judges; every thing is submitted to their decision: In a military government there are nothing but soldiers.

nine

nine houses, in each of which he had a wife, children, servants, kitchen to feed them, workmen building every where, neighbours who were afraid of him, and creditors who fled from his presence.

Although Murad had only the title of Mollach of Mecca || when I first became acquainted with him, one may conceive that he was at that time in high consideration ; he was often visited by men in office, with whom, however, he was obliged to use some precautions.

The Bostandyg Bachi, the external officer of the Seraglio, who the most frequently approaches his master, who from his office must give an account of all irregularities, and who frequently takes his

|| Mollach of Mecca, is only a title peculiar to his rank, and which is preparatory to the office of Stambol Effendissi, a sort of Governor and Lieutenant of Police of Constantinople ; but this office, as well as those of Kadi-lesker and Mufti, to do not follow in a regular rotation ; arrived at the title of Kiabe Molassi Mollach of Mecca, the Grand Signior's choice is necessary, who disposes of these places at pleasure, provided the person has passed the third and second rank before the first.

rounds

rounds to observe them; came in one of his cruizes to Buyukdere, where intending to visit the Mollach, a servant of the latter informed him, that his master was gone to walk towards the meadow, whither the Bostandgy Bachi went to meet him. In the interim no time was lost to apprize the Effendi, who was at that time at my house, and so well employed over a few bottles of Maraschino cordial, that he appeared to me in no condition for any other business. His servant, however, arrives, and announces that the Bostandgy Bachi is in the neighbouring meadow. I was devising some expedient to prevent an interview, the consequence of which, from the situation he was in, I very much dreaded; when perceiving my fears, "You will see," says he to me, smiling, "the influence of the mind over the body." He suffers his servants, however, to support him to the door of the street, where he pushes them from him, walks steadily, enters precipitately into the Mosque, which was only ten paces distant, and boldly orders them

to tell the Bostandgy Bachi he was at prayers; from whence, a moment after, he goes to the place where that officer waited for him, receives his homage, dismisses him, and returns to laugh with me at my apprehensions on his account.

Murad Mollach, too much accustomed to excess, was not easily controuled. He submitted, however, on the representations I made him, to use spiritous liquors with more moderation, and consented only to make himself at times a little gay. Our conversations became, in consequence, more interesting. It was from him that I drew what I have already said about the women; and his women, who paid frequent visits to Madame de Tott, very much enriched my store of knowledge on that subject. Being inclined to see with my own eyes this flock for which the shepherd cared but little, I once entered hastily into their apartment: there was a general cry; it was only the old, however, who strove to hide their faces; but the vanity of the young ones was apparent, from the slowness with which they took that precaution.

We

We may suppose that Murad Mollach, constantly disgusted with the women he already had, increased their number from no other motive than to procure new slaves, who he soon lost sight of. I was one day taking coffee with him in one of his kiosks, and was endeavouring to demonstrate to him, that since his system of predestination did not oblige a Turk to stay in his house if it was burning, he might, with the same propriety, avoid the plague when it broke out; and our dispute was becoming serious, when a little child, of about four years old, with naked feet, and badly clad, came to kiss his hand. The Mollach caresses him; makes me look at the child, and asked him who was his father? "You," replied he, briskly.—"What! I your father? and what is your name?" "Jusuf." "But, who is your mother?" "Katidgee."—"Ah! good Katidgee!" "Ay, indeed." Says the Effendi to me, coldly, "I did not know him." "How," says I to him, "you do not know either

your children or their mothers? If you are a stranger to such things as those, what is there which can interest you?"

THE MOLLACH.

I partly agree with you; but admit also, that this mighty interest which you reproach me with not feeling, is rather ideal. The offspring of illusion, is it not nourished by vanity? Need I wish for any such resource? No, certainly, but curiosity is my only sentiment.

THE BARON.

I believe it is also that of many others, and I should forgive you, were it not exclusive; but to love nothing, not even one's children, that is certainly to live in a forlorn state, in the most dreadful solitude!

THE MOLLACH.

These are only high-sounding words, which explain nothing, and furnish no determinate idea: Let us be candid: All men have the same sensations; their pleasures do not differ, but their prejudices, as
well

well as their customs, produce those varieties from which arise the moral sensations which modify their natural ones. Let us not confound these. Would you think of assimilating the insignificant regulations of a small society, with the eternal laws of the Eternal Being?

THE BARON.

You are of opinion then, that, without making so vain and absurd a comparison, one cannot believe in the filial sentiment?

THE MOLLACH.

We must always believe in what we feel, and feel the most we can; but we must not conclude that all our sensations are so ingrafted in our nature; then we are wanting to her dictates in not feeling them. We have just agreed that there are sensations purely moral, which acting on our natural disposition, controul it, and do not belong to it. We resign ourselves to those sensations, and fondly cherish them from habit; and perhaps they merit all that preference that is possible. You see that I enter into your ideas; try to en-

ter into ours. It requires no great effort to perceive, that the ease with which we satisfy our inclinations produces indifference; it is the fault of our customs, we cannot change them: they procure us benefits, without employment; and employments, without benefit. Every thing is balanced:—but as long as I am curious, I shall never be so unhappy as you imagine.

One could easily perceive that Murad pushed that curiosity sometimes beyond the proper bounds; but this his metaphysics did not attempt to justify: he was content with making a free use of it.

Amongst the number of his attendants, the name of *Haidout Mustapha* had often struck me; the first word signifying *robber*, which had been, in fact, Mustapha's former trade. He still thought that title an honour, and his master ordered him to give me an account of the crimes he had committed. The narrative of a hundred heroic actions could not have been given with more nobleness and modesty, than
this

this rascal assumed in recounting to us the various murders and villainies with which he was polluted. A great number of servants, who had flocked to enjoy his narrative, joined in their applause; and when he had finished,—“Agree with me,” says the Mollach, “that this rogue has a great deal of courage.” “There is, at least,” I answered, “a good deal of courage in thus braving the laws, by confessing his crimes; and without your support, I suppose he would already have paid dearly for it.” Not at all,” replied he coolly, “the law can no longer do any thing with him; he has never fallen under its lash whilst he exercised his trade, and he cannot be punished now that he has quitted it†.”

This same fellow was afterwards employed by his master to look after a sort of sheep-fold, together with one of his fellow servants, who was found dead by the blow

† The robbers in Turkey are like unlicensed mechanics; if they escape the laws, and with their profits purchase a privilege, they are free to exercise their trade; a Pachalick in Turkey gives general licence.

of a hatchet, in the same hut where they had slept together; and Haidout Mustapha, with the utmost effrontery, was the first to announce the event. He was generally looked upon as the murderer; but the fact was too recent, no doubt, for him to boast of it. The Mollach, however, who had no doubt of it, still continued him in his service, and was constantly attended in his walks by this brave fellow, who had given such frequent proofs of his courage.

The inconveniencies of shooting in a country where rogues are more common than partridges, induced me to give the preference to fishing, where I might hope for more tranquility. I frequently partook of this diversion, by going in a boat into a little bay on the coast of Asia, near the mouth of the Black Sea, and on the other side of the farthest castles which the Turks had then built.

Several young men were in company with me, and we carried each of us our gun, to amuse us on the way by shooting gabions,

gabions §, a sort of aquatic bird, with which the Canal is covered. Two boatmen, Greeks, rowed our boat, baited our lines, and cast our nets for us. We were six shooters, and the birds having drawn us across the Canal, on the side of Asia, which they prefer on account of the currents, we coasted it, and kept firing at them from time to time. This obliged us to pass near the castle of Asia, opposite to which I knocked down a gabion. One of the Bostandgy's officers, who commanded there, was sitting squat at the foot of his tower, and gravely respiring with the smoke of his pipe, all his insolence of office. My boatmen observed to me that he made us a sign to approach the shore. I then asked him what he wanted? "To speak to you," says he: "And I," said I, "have nothing to say to you.—I am going to fish in such a place; if you like the diversion, come along, I will hear what you have to say." The Turk then affecting some respect for me, declared that it was

§ The Turkish word is martin; a sort of sea-gull.

only

only to my boatmen he wished to talk; who, terrified at this, concluded it was to call them to account for the shot I had fired near the castle; but I soon encouraged them, by promising to stand by them; and I again asked the Turk to come and fish with us, if he was fond of the diversion; but irritated, no doubt, at my stile of contempt, he answered me very coolly, "I'll go there, and find you;" and we proceeded on our expedition.

One only of the young men in company appeared uneasy at the answer of the Turk. Born in the country, he had imbibed with his milk a pusillanimous timidity, which served to divert us, by saying to him every moment, "Here come the Bostandgis!" Nobody, in fact, believed that they would really come after us, nor did we see any sufficient reason to induce them. We had scarcely entered the bay, however, where we intended to fish, before we discovered the guard-boat coming towards us.

No alternative was now left, but to prepare for battle, which might be attended

ed

ed with disagreeable consequences; but we were so remote from all assistance, that we must either resolve to conquer or be beaten. There was no hesitating, so I took the command, and acted in the double capacity of soldier and politician. I first ordered my boatmen to cast their lines and nets, that the enemy, observing this, might see that we were not afraid of them. I assured my two Greeks also, that they had nothing to fear, and our arms being prepared, I gave orders to our musketry to take aim at the Bostandgis, as soon as I paid their officer that compliment; but by no means to fire before I did. Having made this disposition, and the Turkish boat being already near us, I thought it consistent with the European dignity to bear down upon him. The fellow had also his Turkish dignity, and construing this measure into a proof of my submission, he left off rowing to wait for me, which I no sooner perceived, than I changed my manœuvre, to get at a distance from him; and on his invitation to continue to approach him, I answered that
it

it was his business to come after me, if he was determined to speak to me. "Very well," says he. My boat, however, at that time, lay athwart the prow of his, which was, besides, much larger. He ordered his people to row in such a manner as to sink our boat, by striking us directly in the middle; and this would infallibly have happened, had I not taken aim at him, which motion was followed by my companions, crying out, at the same time, that if he made another stroke with his oars, I would shoot him as I had done the gabion. The sight alone of the end of our pieces made these brave fellows change their helm, and lye upon their oars. Our boats now ran along-side of each other, and keeping the enemy always in awe, we began our conference.

At first I had some difficulty to obtain permission to play the principal character; for the Turk whom I had just humbled, said to the boatmen, "that Frank does not understand me; do you speak." One must be acquainted with the crouching meanness
of

of a Greek towards a Turk, to judge of the degree of insolence my boatmen ventured to display in answering the officer, "that I spoke the Turkish language better than he did;" and he was at length forced to address himself to me.

TURK.

Has Constantinople then passed under the yoke of the Infidels? By what right do you presume to oppose the guard which looks after the safety and good order of the Canal?

EUROPEAN.

And by what right do you presume yourself, to violate the engagements of your master, by molesting his best friends?

TURK.

I do not molest you; but it is forbid to shoot here without permission: shew me your authority.

EUROPEAN.

Where did you see any body shoot hares in a boat? I am fishing, and the fishery is free.

Turk.

TURK.

No, nothing is free here, not even the walks, and I have a long firman §, to which you must submit.

EUROPEAN.

Yes, when I have seen it.

TURK.

You cannot read.

EUROPEAN.

Better than you; but I see that you have none. You are a fellow who make use of false pretences: we are strictly in order.

TURK.

How! Have you not fired a shot opposite the Imperial fortress?

EUROPEAN.

Before *you*, I admit that I have fired; but before a fortress, that is impossible, without you bestow that name on an old pigeon-house you were sitting under. This was surely not a very respectable object, and I will make you repent your insolence.

† An order issued from the Porte in the name of the Grand Signior.

The

The Bostandgy Bachi is my friend, and I shall desire him to bestow a hundred strokes of his stick upon you, before my door, by way of amusing myself.

TURK.

Why are you out of humour? Have I done you any harm?

EUROPEAN.

No; thanks to my gun, which frightened you.

TURK.

Cannot one enter into an explanation with you, without your being in a passion? As for me, I am not out of humour; I am your friend, treat me in the same manner, and amuse yourself.

EUROPEAN.

Oh! I understand you; a dollar would be very acceptable, but you shall not have it.

TURK.

What, nothing!

EUROPEAN.

No; nothing but the rain, which will certainly

certainly wet you if you don't make haste and get to your pigeon-house. Adieu!

This adventure, which terminated by the retreat of the assailants in the sight of several Turkish fishermen acquainted with that coast procured us from them the most favourable reception; and we found them on landing much more attentive than usual. I did not fail, on my return, to make my complaint to the Bostandgy Bachi, who gave him orders to ask my pardon, and we became very good friends.

There was this year, at Constantinople, one of those winds so formidable throughout all Asia, which the Turks call *cham yely*, the damask wind; it blows moderately from south south east, but loads the atmosphere with an earthy fog, which darkens the air, and contributes, no doubt, by that, more than by its excessive heat, to suffocate the travellers and country people who are unacquainted with the method of preserving themselves, by breathing from time to time with their mouths against the ground; even in the houses one is very
much

much incommoded by it; and for three days that this wind continued, I was under the necessity of placing my mouth often against the wall, in order to respire more freely.

Excepting this wind, which very seldom blows, the climate of Constantinople adds much to the beauty of its situation. They have scarcely any other than southerly and northerly winds, which succeed each other, and often clash together at the point of the Seraglio. The latter are generally trade-winds in summer, that die away at the setting of the sun, and begin to blow at about ten in the morning, and during the great heats, much later. The southerly winds prevail generally in winter, and regularly follow the snow storms from the northward, and which they very quickly melt. It is observed, however, that the first day of the southerly wind after the snow, conveys a very sharp cold to Constantinople, and produces the hardest frosts; it then becomes more mild, makes a thaw, and is productive sometimes of the greatest heats.

The situation of Mount Olympus, which is constantly covered with snow, is the cause and explanation of this phenomenon. This lofty mountain, at the foot of which is built the ancient town of Prusa §, is situated in Asia, in sight, and in the meridian of Constantinople. The fresh snows that are carried there by the northerly winds, produce an excessive cold, which the first blast of the southerly wind conveys to Constantinople; and it is not till the atmosphere is cleared of that frozen air, that it resumes its characteristic mildness. The position of that city renders it also very liable to frequent storms, which are followed by a rapid brightness in the north-west, and the wind from that quarter very soon piles up the clouds in heaps over Asia Minor. This is at least the picture of the heavens in this country, as they commonly appear. The northerly breezes, by refreshing the Canal, add to the beauty of the different situations on its borders

§ A town built by Hannibal.

on

on the two coasts of Asia and of Europe, which attract all the great men of the empire, who repair there in summer to their country-houses ; and as the most beautiful situations are occupied by the Grand Signior, or laid out in walks, these palaces serve to decorate the Canal. They also afford prospects so much the more agreeable, as that nature is no where fatigued by straight line plantations, cropt arbours, and masses of stone, that substitute a burning sandy terrace, for the natural and fresh lawns to which the Turks give the preference.

It is perhaps neither owing to want of art, nor to good taste, which sets a proper value on simplicity, that we must attribute the pains taken by the Turks to preserve nature, in order to enjoy it in its primitive state. They are particularly fond of the shade of large trees, and sacrifice even the plan of their houses to their preservation. I have seen a house where the architect had preserved a handsome elm of longer standing than the proprietor, in the

midst of a gallery, through which it was suffered to pierce, for no other purpose than to shade the roof. All the trees on the ground are preserved, in what manner soever they happen to be placed; and, in general, the plan of the building is governed by them, and this, no doubt, because in a hot climate the shade of large trees is necessary. Under a despotic government, a man must enjoy the trees that he can find; he has not the time to see them grow up.

Hanum Sultana, the Grand Signior's niece, had a handsome palace on the Canal, where she passed the summer; her uncle, Sultan Osman, often went to see her, and that Princess had so much influence over him, as to furnish matter for scandal. Still young, yet long since married, she had scarcely known her husband, who had been appointed to a Pachalick shortly after his marriage. The interest of the different Vifirs kept him at a distance, the laws did not allow the Sultana to go to him, and the sentiment the uncle had for the niece,

niece, was not calculated to bring the couple together.

The manner in which the word *Sultana* is abused in Europe, induces me to make some observations, which will serve, I hope, to rectify every error on that head.

The word *Sultan*, is only a title of birth appropriated to the Ottoman Princes, born on the throne, and to those of the Gengiskan family. This word, which is pronounced *Soultan*, is, without doubt, also the true etymology of *Soudan*; and this title in Egypt is synonymous with that of a *King*; but neither in Turkey, nor Tartary, does it imply any idea of sovereign authority. The title of *Kam* is peculiarly attached to the Sovereign of the Tartars, and is equivalent to that of *Chach*, signifying *King*, with the Persians, from whence is derived *Padi Chach*, *Great King*, which the Ottoman family has assumed, either for the purpose of refusing or granting it to different powers, who have not perceived, perhaps, that there would have been more address and dignity in not ac-

knowledging, than in claiming this title: That of Sultan gives its possessors the capacity of succeeding to the throne, and the established order of succession amongst the Turks is always in the oldest of the family, who must, as I have already said, be born on the throne.

Sultan Mahamout dying without issue, after a reign of one and twenty years, left the empire to his brother Osman, the eldest of four remaining sons of Sultan Achmet, who was dethroned by a revolution. Mustapha, who succeeded Osman, Bajazet who died in the Seraglio, and Abdul Amid, the reigning Sultan, were about the same age with Osman, who leaving no posterity, his family was threatened with destruction, had his reign lasted as long as it might have done; but it was only of three years duration, and Sultan Mustapha very soon gave two heirs to the empire, one of whom is now living in the person of Sultan Selim, who was shut up after the death of his father, but destined to succeed his uncle, Abdul Amid, to the exclusion

exclusion of his living and unborn cousins. It is to be hoped that this Prince, still young, will mount the throne at an age capable of ensuring the continuance of the dynasty of the Ottoman Princes, to which this order of succession has frequently threatened to put an end, an event sufficient also to annihilate the empire, to the possession of which no law gives any claim to the Gengiskan race. This prejudice, which has gained credit, has induced me to inform myself of its truth from the Kam of the Tartars, and that Prince has assured me, that it has no foundation. It may be presumed, however, that in case of the extinction of the Ottoman family, the factions which would tear in pieces its inheritance, must decide the men of the law to call one of the Sultan Tartars to the throne, for want of the collateral branches, which the feebleness of the despot, armed with the most atrocious barbarity, has cut off at their birth.

I do not, however, speak of those branches which may spring from the Princes shut

up by policy in the interior of the Seraglio, and who are allowed to have wives; their children born between the throne and the state, would neither belong to the one nor the other. A falsehood may likewise spare nature the horror of knowing they are destroyed, and prejudice may still further propagate the flattering error, that the wives of these Princes are no longer of an age to render the crime necessary.

But the daughters and sisters of the Grand Signior, married to the Vizirs and great men of the empire, live separately in the palaces, and the male infant of the marriage must be smothered at the same moment, and by the same hands that bring it into the world. This is at once the most public and most inviolable law. no veil is thrown over the horror of these murders. A cowardly fear produces these assassinations, more than the real interest of the throne. What advantages of situation can console these unhappy Princesses? —But what fresh horror! The pride of their birth, which compels this crime,
more

more monstrous than the crime itself, not satisfied with the victim, smother even the cry of nature.

If the female children alone escape this murderous law, they are obliged to add to the title of Sultana, that of Hanum, a title common to all women of easy fortune; and the children of both sexes which these Princesses are able to preserve, return in the next generation into the general class: they bear no longer any title of distinction. Descended from a grand-daughter of the Grand Signior. they are already stript of all the influence of paternal sentiments. The great grandfather has already lost sight of them in the obscurity of their birth.

Such is the rule of establishing the rank of Sultana amongst the Turks. The Tartars, more humane, because they are not despotic, smother nobody: they content themselves with making the Sultana's son adopt the name, the rank, and titles of the Mirza whom she has chosen to be its father.

That

That female slave of the Seraglio, who becomes the mother of a Sultan, and who may live long enough to see her son mount upon the Throne, is also the only woman who can, at that period alone, acquire without the advantage of birth, the distinction of *Sultana valide*, *Sultana mother*.

Maintained until then in the interior of her prison, with her son, she must be contented only to possess the esteem which he may have for her. It is evident that the title of *favourite Sultana* is the more absurd; for that, if she be the Sultana, she cannot avow that sort of preference; and the moment she can possess it, she is no longer Sultana.

The title of *Bache Kadun*, principal woman, is the first dignity of the Grand Signior's harem: she has a larger allowance than those who have the title of second, third, and fourth woman; but these advantages do not always indicate the real favourite. The reigning Grand Signior had consecrated these distinctions to his gratitude, by bestowing them on women who had

had partaken of his retirement. He can dispose of them at his pleasure, by confining those who already possess them in the old Seraglio. None of these four women are married to him: they represent only the four free women which the law allows. One may presume also, that they are there only for show.

I have already said, that the difficulty of access to the Grand Signior's harem, where only a few doctors are admitted, and that, after removing every thing but what is connected with the disorder, leaves no other method of judging of it than from the knowledge of the customs which prevail in the harems of individuals.

The Palace even of a Sultana, where every thing, even to her husband, is at her command, can give no insight into what passes in the Seraglio. I do not pretend, therefore, to cast a ray of light into that truly inaccessible dungeon; nor am I going to offer any objects of comparison; I shall confine myself to simple details, which ought to be deemed curious; they give at least

least a picture of manners, and I am happy in satisfying, in this respect, the anxiety of the public, by describing, as Madame de Tott dictates to me, a visit she made with her mother to Sultana Asma, daughter the Emperor Achmet, and sister to his successors to this day.

Under the reign of Sultan Mahamout, this Princess still young, and prejudiced by the example of her brother in favour of the Franks, was desirous of conversing with an European woman. My mother in law, although born in Turkey, answered the purpose of her curiosity, and was invited to wait on her with her daughter. The female attendant of the exterior of the Palace, was directed to receive, and conduct them to the Sultana. On their arrival at the Seraglio of that Princess, (the same as I have already said that the Visir was lodged in after the fire) the conductress made them enter by a first and second iron gate, guarded by different porters; but who were in no way different from the ordinary race of men, any more than the guardian of the
third

third gate, which opening all at the command of the intendante, discovered several black eunuchs, who, with white staves in their hands, preceded the female strangers through an inner court, entrusted to their keeping, and introduced them into a large room called the stranger's chamber.

The Kiaya Cadun, or Intendante of the interior apartments of the Seraglio, came to do the honours, and the slaves she had brought assisted the two strangers to unmask and fold up their veils, whilst their mistress went to acquaint the Sultana with their arrival. The Princess, however, devoted to the prejudices of her religion, would only receive the visit from behind the blinds, that she might see, without being seen; but my mother in law declaring she would withdraw if the Sultana persisted in concealing herself, the negociation was terminated by the consent of the Princess, who contrived time to think of her dress, by inviting my mother to rest herself a little before she came up to her apartment. Conducted accordingly soon after by the Intendante and
a great

a great number of slaves, they found the Sultana, on entering her apartments, richly dressed, and set off with all her diamonds, seated in a corner of a rich sofa that furnished her saloon, the tapestry † and and carpets of which were of gold and silver Lyons stuff, sewn together in breadths of different colours. The *selictes* §, covered with fatten, striped with gold, carried and spread before the Sultana, served for them to sit on; whilst sixty young girls, richly clad, and in loose robes, divided themselves on the right and left at the entrance of the hall, forming two rows, with their hands crossed on their waists.

After the first compliments, the Princess's questions turned upon the liberty enjoyed by our women. She compared it

† The Turks are very little acquainted with this kind of luxury, which is only to be found within the harems, where a kind of curtain extends behind the cushions, and covers the wall half way up: but the hall of the throne, which has no sofa, is entirely covered with tapestry.

§ *Selictes* is a small cotten mattress, covered with stuff.

with

with the customs of the harem, and showed some difficulty in conceiving, how the face of a young girl could be viewed before marriage by her future husband. But, these different questions discussed, she concurred in the advantages resulting from our customs, and giving loose to the natural sensations arising from her own personal situation, she exclaimed against the barbarity of the institution, which, at thirteen years old, had put her in the power of a decrepid old man, who, by treating her like a child, had only inspired her with disgust. *He died, however, at last,* added she; *but am I more happy?* “Ten years have I been married to a young Pacha, who, they say, is young and amiable, but we have never seen each other.”

The Princess then said many polite things to the two European ladies, and gave orders to her Intendante to treat them handsomely; and after taking a walk, to provide an entertainment for them in the garden, and to re-conduct them to her to conclude the visit.

The

The Intendante led them accordingly to her apartments. where they dined alone with her ; whilst a number of slaves, forming a row around the table, were wholly employed in serving them.

The dinner finished, and the coffee served, the European ladies were offered pipes, which they refused, and which the Intendante hardly gave herself time to finish, before she conducted her guests into the garden, where fresh bands of slaves were arranged near a very beautiful kiosk, the place where the company were to assemble.

This pavillion, richly furnished and ornamented, built over a large bason of water, occupied the middle of the garden, where espaliers of roses, rising on all sides, concealed from the eye the lofty walls that formed this prison. Small foot paths, very narrow, and paved with mosaic, were, according to custom, the only walks in the garden ; but a great number of pots, and baskets of flowers, presented to the eye a little cluster, beautifully coloured,
invited

invited the senses to partake of their sweets in the corner of a good sofa, the only object of this sort of walks. They were scarcely seated, before the eunuchs, who had headed the procession, ranged themselves in a row at some distance from the kiosk, to give room for the Princess's band of music, consisting of ten women slaves, who performed different pieces; during which a troop of women dancers, as richly, but more loosely dressed, executed several ballets that were tolerably agreeable both for the variety of steps and figures. These women dancers were also of a higher class than they usually are in private houses. Soon after arrived a fresh troop of women, dressed like men, to add, no doubt, to this picture, the illusion of a sex which was wanting to the entertainment. These pretended men began a sort of tilting on the water, to win the fruits which other slaves threw into the basin. The strangers had also the pleasure of going on the water in a small boat, rowed by female rowers, disguised

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also like men ; after which being led back to the Sultana's apartment, they took leave of her with the usual ceremonies, and were conducted out of the Seraglio by the same passage, and in the same order by which they were introduced.

It appears from this description, that the Eunuchs were more at the command of the Sultana than disposed to thwart her. These beings are no other than an object of luxury in Turkey, displayed no where but in the Seraglios of the Grand Signior, and the Sultanas. The pride of the great, 'tis true, extends so far, but with moderation, and the richest of them have scarcely ever more than two or three black Eunuchs. The white ones, who are less deformed, are reserved for the Grand Signior, to form the guard for the outer-gates of his Seraglio ; but they are not suffered to approach the women, nor obtain any employment, whilst the possibility of arriving at the post of Kislar Aga, furnishes the black Eunuchs, at least, a motive to support and animate their ambition. Their character is always ferocious, and

and nature offended in their persons, seems perpetually to feel the reproach.

Although the feast of Tchiraghan *, an entertainment the Grand Signior often takes, cannot enable one to form any judgment of the inside of the Seraglio, the particulars of it may appear interesting, by giving some idea of his pleasures †.

The garden of the Harem, larger, no doubt, than that of Sultana Asma, but laid out certainly in the same taste, serves as the theatre of these nocturnal feasts. Vases of every kind, filled with natural or artificial flowers, are gathered there to augment the cluster, which is lighted by an infinite number of lanthorns, coloured lamps, and wax-lights, placed in glass tubes, and reflected by looking-glasses, disposed for that purpose. Temporary shops, filled with different sorts of merchandize, are occu-

* The Feast of Tulips; which is so called, because it consists in illuminating a Parterre; and that this is the flower of which the Turks are the fondest.

† One may be apt to imagine, that those which he habitually takes, are less lively than those he procures himself, in illuminating his tulips.

pied by women of the Harem, who represent, in suitable dresses, the merchants who might be supposed to sell them. The Sultanas, who are the sisters, nieces, or cousins of the Grand Signior are invited to these entertainments; and they, as well as his Highness, purchase trinkets and stuffs in these shops, which they mutually make presents of to one another; they extend their generosity also to such of the Grand Signior's women as are admitted to approach him, or who keep the shops.—Dancing, music, and sports similar to the tilting on the water I have spoken of, prolong these entertainments until the night is far advanced, and diffuse a sort of momentary gaiety within these walls, generally devoted to sorrow, and to dulness. It is also from Madame de Tott that I obtained these relations, which she received from the Sultana Hanum, of whom, as I have already said, her uncle was very fond.

My brother-in-law, had become very intimate with the Intendante of that Princess,

cess, in order to obtain her interest in favour of his friends, or for his own concerns. The chief of her Eunuchs was also well disposed towards him; the Sultana had seen him several times through her window-blinds; he had a handsome face, and every thing combined to procure him her good wishes. Deprived for a long time of her husband, by whom she had a son and a daughter, the Princess seemed to endeavour to console herself in his absence, and to have availed herself of that want of rank, which approach her condition to that of ordinary individuals, by adopting their manners. In fact, one saw that jealousy which reigns amongst the Turkish women display itself in lively colours around her person. The pains she took in dressing Madame de Tott's hair, whom she had desired to see, displeased the woman who was her principal favourite so much, as to make her faint away; and Madame de Tott returned home more struck with the particular marks of affection the Sultana had lavished on her, than with the excessive

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five magnificence that reigned in her palace, and amongst her slaves.

The Patriarch Kirlo, filled at that time, the œcumenical chair of Constantinople; this man, born of the dregs of the people, amongst whom his fanaticism had succeeded in forming a party, made himself feared by the first people of his nation, whose pride, in other respects, held him in contempt.

Aided by some members of the Synod, he imagined and maintained the doctrine of baptism by immersion: the anathema that he pronounced on this subject from his metropolis, against the Pope, the King of France, and all the Catholic Princes, determined his flock to renew their baptism; and the women, and young girls, always devotees, crowded to that holy ceremony, which scandal converted into a crime against the Apostle and his proselytes.

Besides the insolence of an excommunication, which could have no other object than the insult, this Patriarch, constantly employed in feeding the fanaticism of his

his nation, paid the Turks a recompense for the vexations with which he harraſſed the Catholics; he even extended his oppreſſions to ſuch biſhops of his church as had the courage not to be ſubſervient to his projects, and he perſecuted theſe unfortunate deſpotiſ with the moſt unrelenting barbarity, after having ſtriped them of their temporal poſſeſſions. Of this number was Kalinico, Archbiſhop of Amaſia. He had taken refuge in our quarter, to avoid the ſentence which confined him to Mount Sinai, and ſolicited the intereſt of my brother-in-law with Sultana Hanum, to obtain from the Grand Signior the reſtitution of his Archbiſhoprick. This would certainly have been a very good work, but it would not probably have excited anxiety in favour of the Prelate, had not the deſire of baniſhing Kirlo, tempted us to convert his victim into his rival. Whiſt my brother-in-law negotiated this affair, by the mediation and influence of Sultana Hanum with the Grand Signior, ſome perſons hired by the Patriarch to carry off Kalinico,

attempted to seize him one night near my house, where he had barely time to take refuge. To ensure at once, therefore, the safety of his person, and to place him in readiness for his affairs, I consented to let him stay in a kiosk built on the roof of my house, where I secretly took care of him, and fed him, until his elevation to the Patriarchate, for which my brother-in-law bargained a long time, and at length obtained, for a pretty considerable specific sum, to be paid in new sequins §.

The *Katti Cherif* || of the Grand Signior, which deposed Kirlo, and gave him Kalinico for a successor, reached the Visir before that Minister had the smallest suspicion of what was plotting. To justify this sudden degradation, the order was conceiv-

§ It was the Grand Signior himself who required that clause, which could not be fulfilled without having recourse to the mint; and the sum passed directly from the scales into the hands of Sultan Osman, who shared it with his niece.

|| *Katti Cherif*, Imperial Signet, or Diploma;—which has the force of law, and must be executed without a demur.

ed

ed in very strong terms, and imputed to the Patriarch a turbulent spirit, disposed to a revolt, and concluded with an injunction to take the most efficacious measures to apprehend his person, and prevent his escape by flight from Mount Sinai, to which place the same order restricted him. The Ministers of the Porte, however, took measures to ward off the imaginary danger, which their pusillanimity suggested to be very urgent. Some companies of Janissaries had orders early in the morning, to take possession of all the avenues of the Greek quarter; the guards were doubled in the environs, and the Patriarchal palace, still more carefully surrounded, delivered up Kirlo to his conquerors, without any resistance. They conveyed him without delay to a coal-boat, where they deposited him. Excepting this circumstance, which did not ennoble the scene, never was there a Greek for whom it was less necessary to take those precautions that illustrated his fall; and his countrymen were so far from thinking of rescuing him from the Grand Signior's orders,

orders, that had it not been for the trivial circumstance of the coal-boat, even their vanity would have been gratified.

It now remained only for the Porte to install his successor; and the government would not have known where to find him, had not the Grand Signior, acquainted with the whole affair, pointed out the place. Some of the Visir's people, dispatched immediately, came to ask for him at my house, to conduct him to the Porte; and this poor despoti*, more accustomed to fear than hope, was begging me not to deliver him up to his enemies, when I announced to him his elevation; I could not, however, quiet his apprehensions; but, forced to obey, he followed his guides, whom he took to be executioners, and in an hour after was proclaimed Patriarch.

I received a message of thanks from him the same day, and he came afterwards to

* A title which the Greek Bishops have assumed to mark the absolute power they possess; but of which the Grand Signior makes them feel the proper application.

visit me in his good fortune, to desire me always to reserve for him his place of retreat, which he believed he should stand in need of very shortly. I then perceived that we had made but an indifferent choice of a Patriarch for the Primitive church.

It furnished me, however, with a favourable opportunity of assisting at the ceremonies preserved by the Greek church, and I attended one great holy day at the Metropolitan; some of the new patriarch's attendants waited for me, and placed me, by his order, in a stall at the right of his seat, where he soon placed himself; and every thing being prepared for beginning the service, he descended from thence, and seated himself in a chair, carried for that purpose, opposite the *sacra sanctorum*. There, several Deacons proceeded to invest him with his pontifical robes, and at length put on his head a close crown of diamonds, with a double cross upon the globe.

The Patriarch then took the patriarchal staff in his left hand, and in his right a small wax taper, of three branches, of which

which he only held two, to mark the union of the Father, and the Son, without adding the Holy Ghost. He observed the same form by bending the middle fingers of his hand when he gave the benediction, by which means the Holy Ghost signified by the little finger, remained separated from the Son, from whom the Greeks do not believe that it proceeds.

The Patriarch was then introduced into the sanctuary, the curtain of which was shut, and the people who crowded the church, and had till then observed a tolerably respectful silence, began to be agitated in as tumultuous a manner as the waves of the Parterre at our public theatres in France; but the indecent bursts of laughter occasioned by this agitation, were very soon confounded with the cries of the unhappy wretches in danger of suffocation. One of these, after having been for some time trodden under foot, was lifted up before me over the people's heads, which were so closely jammed together, that, with the assistance of some hands that
raised

raised him up, and pushed him backwards, he reached the bottom of the church, where they sent him to recover his breath in that very extraordinary manner.

This scene, which I viewed without danger from the height of my stall, by ruffling a few ears, increased the noise to such a degree, that the Patriarch, briskly opening the curtain that concealed him from the people, harangued them in a discourse as violent as the noise which had occasioned it; and he finished this pastoral exhortation by *sending his flock to the Devil*. But the calm which succeeded that harangue was of short duration, and the moment of the sacrifice approaching, it was necessary to have recourse to a more efficacious method than the eloquence of the Pontiff. It was by very heavy strokes of his cane that the Patriarch's Janissary recalled the assembly to the attention due to the holy mystery then about to be exposed to them. The lateral doors of the *sacra sanctorum* were now thrown open, and the Deacons came out with all the instruments

of

of the Greek Liturgy, to offer them successively at the middle gate, where they announced one after the other, and with a loud voice, each of the instruments they carried. The Patriarchal crown, which finished the procession, was alone refused; and this testimony of the contempt of riches, borrowed from the holy Evangelists, and the sacred vessels, added, no doubt, to the marks of respect that the Patriarch had just given.

The succeeding ceremonies of the service had nothing remarkable in them. I accompanied the Patriarch home, and he kept me to dinner. I took the opportunity, likewise, of my visit to the *Fanal*, or Greek quarter, to wait upon the Drogman of the Porte, whose family, particularly attached to Madame de Tott, had made her promise to pass a few days at their country house on the Canal. Amongst the number of Archontes † whom I met with at the house of this interpreter of the Grand Signior, Manoly Serdar ‡, faithfully

† A title which the opulent Greeks still assume.

‡ Serdor, a Turkish word, Governor.

attached

attached to the fate of Racovitza, the deposed Prince of Wallachia, appeared to me to possess more ability and information than his countrymen. He won my esteem by that disinterested zeal which made him prefer mediocrity, with his former benefactor, to those advantages his ingratitude might have procured him in the service of the new Princes. No temptation had been able to shake his fidelity, and the restoration of Racovitza was the sole object of all his measures. It was undoubtedly with this view, and from the opinion the elevation of Kalinico had given him of the influence of my brother in law, that Manoly Serdar, desirous of a greater intimacy with him, wished also to connect himself with me, as earnestly as I did, to be acquainted with a man so capable of instructing me in the character and manners of his nation. We became more intimate in the country, where this Greek came to live near me. We were never separate; and I heard him with pleasure frequently declare, that his nation preserved no other trace

trace of the character of the ancient empire of the Greeks, than the pride and fanaticism that produced its downfall. Manoly Serdar, however, had nothing left to live on but the capital he had amassed during the time that Prince Racovitza possessed the principality of Wallachia, and I saw, with regret, that the luxury of his wife, and the great number of his slaves, combined together to expose his virtue to the temptations of necessity, whilst his vanity banished every suggestion of œconomy.

The stile of familiarity in which we lived, enabled me to form an idea of his domestic life; and I there daily discovered a mixture of Greek and Turkish manners. A little lamp constantly burning before the picture of the Panaghia ||, lighted at the same time the young slaves who dressed, and undressed the Serdar: this Greek, as well as all those who are in such easy circumstances as to introduce at their houses the Turkish service, had also the custom of sleeping on his sofa after dinner, whilst a

|| The Virgin.

woman,

woman, by driving away the flies with a large fan of feathers, cooled the air that he was respiring. Other slaves kneeling at his naked feet, rubbed them gently with their hands. This Asiatic effeminacy gives room to suspect, that these refinements are carried to greater lengths, and the ill treatment bestowed by this Greek on his slaves for the slightest faults, only proves, that where the facility of enjoyment is without bounds, there is an end to delicacy.

I was at length obliged to fulfil the promise, made by Madame de Tott, to the lady of the chief Drogman, to pass some days with her. We went to her country-house: the family consisted of the old Drogman, whose professional knowledge compensated for his dulness and gross ignorance; but whose knowledge of foreign language was limited to a little bad Italian. His wife, who was not so far advanced in years, and who had substituted an air of Majesty in the place of beauty, had the internal management of his house, of which she did the honours with a sort of frank cordiality,

which slightly concealed the pride of knowing herself to be, in virtue of her husband's office, the first person of her nation.

The eldest of her sons, whom we shall see succeed his father in the principality of Moldavia, to make an unhappy end, was of a character naturally mild, but weak and vain; the younger, of a more haughty character, already announced that intriguing and ambitious spirit which cost his brother his life: an eldest daughter, a widow at nineteen, fresher than the morning rose, elegantly slender without being tall, united to the most bewitching graces, a certain modesty, a sweetness, and a languid air which were irresistible: the younger sister less beautiful, but lively and interesting, was just betrothed to a young Greek in the neighbourhood. The intended husband was anxious, no doubt, to become acquainted with us, and we were but just arrived when two or three slaves came to announce him, by entering precipitately in the saloon, where the family was assembled; they throw themselves on the betrothed girl, cover her with their robes,

robes, and carry her off, crying out, like mad people, "get out of the way, there he is." In fact, we saw the young man enter, who, although careffed by the whole family, could never cast his eyes on the object of his desire, but by surprize. He had often tried the same experiment, but always without success. They kept him to supper, and the young girl was kept out of sight until his departure.

The hour of withdrawing being come, we were conducted into a spacious adjoining apartment, in the middle of which was a bed, without bedstead or curtains, but the coverlet and pillows surpassed in magnificence the richness of the sofa which decorated the apartment. I had but little prospect of repose on this bed, and was curious to examine it minutely. Fifteen quilted cotten mattresses, about three inches thick, laid one upon another, formed a very soft foundation, covered by a sheet of Indian linen tacked to the last mattress. A counterpane of green satin, loaded with gold wire embroidery, embossed,

bossed, was also fastened to the upper sheet, the edges of which were turned up and stitched together. Two large pillows of crimson sattin, covered with similar embroidery, in which gold plating and twisted gold thread were profusely lavished, were supported by two cushions of the sofa, brought near to serve by way of a back-board, and also to support our heads. A small octagon tower, inlaid with ebony and mother of pearl, formed a sort of table at the side of the bed, on which was placed a large silver candlestick, with a yellow wax taper, two inches thick, the wick of which as large as one's finger, spread a black smoke. Three China salvers, filled with conserve of roses, orange flowers, and citron peeling; a small gold knife, with a tortoise shell handle, and a crystal vase full of water, surrounded this obscure luminary, which was to serve us as a night lamp; a precaution absolutely necessary every where from the proximity of the neighbouring houses, which give constant reason to apprehend the fatal ravages
fire

fire. The Drogman's house was precisely in this situation, and every thing prepared me for a bad night's rest. The suppression of the pillows would have been of some service, had there been a bolster; and the expedient of turning them having served only to discover the embroidery below, we were at length obliged to spread our handkerchiefs over them, which did not secure us, however, from the impression of the embossed flowers. After such a night we were not very lazy in rising; and we saw, with joy, the day break, with a determination of procuring more convenient pillows for the following night.

A fishing party proposed the night before, preceded our breakfast, which was carried over to Asia, where a small meadow, a Turkish coffee-house, and some loaded carts, drawn by little buffalos, gave the ladies the prospect of every thing agreeable that the country afforded. Our success in fishing was indifferent; the ladies were well jolted, and the Turkish women in company were very troublesome with

their questions, and very insolent in their answers. We brought back with us some jars filled with curds, and some creffes gathered at a fountain ; and there was but one opinion on the subject of the pleasures we had just been enjoying.

We found at our return to the Drogman's, several Greek women of the neighbourhood, who were invited to dinner, and were already assembled. A splendid dress, in which vanity was evidently more consulted than the season, was displayed on a grand sofa, in robes of black, or crimson velvet, covered with broad gold lace on all the seams. The weight of these garments, joined to the heat of the weather, rendered these ladies immovable, and almost mute. They held, however, a common-place conversation, with frequent repetitions of the same thing, and the company went to table. Dinner was served in the French stile ; a circular table, with chairs round it, spoons and forks ; in short, nothing was wanting but the habit of making use of them. They were desirous,

rous, notwithstanding, of not neglecting any part of our customs, which began to be as much in fashion amongst the Greeks, as the English customs are in France; and I have seen a woman after dinner, take the olives in her fingers, and prick them with her fork, to eat them *à la Française*. If drinking healths is no longer in fashion with us, it is not the less agreeable to meet with this ancient custom in other countries. Our Greeks were not wanting in this respect; and the men performed the ceremony standing up, uncovered. But what will appear somewhat less refined, the same wine-glass served the whole company. After the dinner, where profusion was displayed, more than elegance or neatness, the company arranged themselves on the sofa, in the same room where we had dined, and pipes succeeded the coffee. The conversation began on the fashions, and finished with scandal; the truest imitation of our manners that I ever saw in that country. The young girls amused themselves in the mean time with

a swing, suspended at the other end of the room, and put in motion by the slaves. The women likewise partook of that amusement, and were followed by the men with long beards; and the tout de table, ches, and panguelo, a kind of brelan, finished the entertainments of the day. Towards the evening, all the company went down to take the air on the Echelle, a sort of jttee, that advances into the sea, to facilitate the approach of boats.

The moon was just appearing, and the calmness of the evening invited us to go on the water; when the confused cries of men giving and receiving blows, apprized us of the approach of the Bostandgy Bachi, nothing could be more alert than the women in hiding themselves. The Drogman's Lady, and Madame de Tott, who had nothing to fear, were alone able to face this great officer, who made his appearance in an armed boat, with four and twenty rowers. He had been just chastizing some drunken fellows, and seizing some women rather too frolicksome, who
had

had fallen into his hands. He continued his voyage, passing along the pier, where we saluted each other.

The pride of the runaway Greeks was seeking an excuse for their fears, when a fisherman passing by, being asked what route the Bostandgy Bachi had taken, spread a far greater alarm, by informing us, that after having landed without noise at the kiosk of a Greek lady, and listened a few minutes to the conversation, he had mounted into the window, with several of his people, and that was all he knew of the matter. But this was enough to make the fright become general, as well as a sympathy for the fate of the poor lady of the kiosk; and they were all taken up with these reflections, when the future husband of the younger daughter of the house arrived, once more to put her to flight, and to satisfy the eager curiosity of the company. "Make yourselves easy," says he, to one of our female guests, "your cousin and her friend have escaped, with the loss of all their diamonds, all their trinkets, and all the

the money they had about them: there was no time to hesitate; the Bostandgy Bachi surprized, and seized them, to carry them off in his boat to prison; his avarice, however, brought him at length to reason; but he has left them much less contented with their evening than they had expected."

At this recital, the rage of the Greek women could no longer be restrained; and the discussions on the right, and on the fact, continued until they were interrupted by the noise of some other small boats, which the fears of the Bostandgy Bachi magnified to an enormous size. As soon, however, as all was quiet on his account, the conversation ran entirely on different schemes for avoiding his persecutions, and nothing else was talked of, until we saw him return down the middle of the Canal, towards Constantinople. Every body was desirous of availing themselves of the liberty he now had of taking the air, and in a short time the sea was covered with a prodigious number of small boats, in which
the

the ladies were rowed to the sound of music. Our company soon made part of the little fleet. We coasted along the houses, and criticised the proprietors, who from their kiosks remarked on us in their turn; and I gathered some hints as we passed along which the Bostandgy Bachi might have turned to good account.

I had, in preference, got into a small boat with the future husband, whose countenance and gaiety interested me. The young man soon perceived that I was pleased with him, and told me, in confidence, his uneasiness at not being able to see his intended bride. I felt for his situation, and promised at a certain hour the next day, to procure him a sight of her. He was as punctual to the rendezvous as I had been to furnish him with the means of it; but an unlucky slave, who watched him, was very near disconcerting all my projects, by giving the cry of alarm. The young lady at the same time perceived him, and was making her escape on one side of the gallery, where I ran to stop her at the entrance

trance, calling my young Greek, who soon came up to me. A reinforcement of two old harpies, however, ran from the bottom of the gallery, screaming like the geese of the Capitol, but they could not arrive time enough to prevent a kiss of the future husband, by which I was very happy to *Frenchify* the young folks; we then delivered our prey into the possession of the enemy. The father and mother approved of my little pleasantry, and the betrothed couple obtained the same day the free fight of each other.

The Diako, a sort of ecclesiastical preceptor, who was entrusted, agreeable to the custom in all Greek families, with the young lady's education, was the only person who blamed my conduct; he spoke of it with such warmth, as to make me conclude that he regretted the not being able to put a finishing hand to the education of his pupil.

We remained some days longer with the Drogman in the same round of amusement of dulness or impatience. I returned home
at

at length, to repose myself, and there found Manoly Serdar, who informed me that another Greek, attached as he was to Racovitza, had just abandoned him, to enter into the service of the Prince newly nominated by the Porte. Manoly seemed to me to exaggerate this crime with an affectation which bore a very suspicious appearance.

I endeavoured to persuade him, that as he might himself possibly be liable, from necessity, to take a similar step, he ought, from prudential motives, to use gentler terms, and not to judge so harshly of a man whom, perhaps, he was on the point of imitating. "Look on me," says he, "as the worst of men, if ever I change; and continue to esteem me, if I am not guilty of so black a treachery." I promised him one and the other; and I was not long without being forced to keep my word with him; he went off, in fact, a few days after, for the purpose, as he said, of trying some further expedient in favour of his benefactor; but I soon learnt that
he

he too had forsaken him, and attached himself to the new Vayvode §. He wrote to acquaint me with the step he had taken, and to ask very humbly what I thought of him. I was aware that circumstances might have rendered him excuseable, had he not himself aggravated his fault, by his protestations of honour and fidelity. I answered, therefore, that he had himself dictated the opinion I ought to entertain of his conduct, and that I should continue to preserve it with more firmness than he had maintained his principles.

This man rose himself to be Prince of Wallachia, during the last war of the Turks; but that situation has only afforded more scope to his intrigues, without any real display of talents, and I lost sight of him in that obscurity into which those ephemeral beings naturally return, who shine for a moment by the light of the despot, who gratifies at once his avarice and

§ This is the title bestowed by the Turks on the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia; they use also the title of Bey.

their

their pride, by felling them a transient glimmering of his authority.

We shall see Sultan Osman obliged to employ that of an inferior officer in a matter relatively of little importance, but so singular as to be worthy of remark.

A drunken Janissary, pursued by the guard, who carry no other weapons in general than large sticks, availed himself of the superiority he derived from his yatagan † to defend himself like a lion; he had already disabled several of his enemies, and, fatigued with his own efforts, was reposing himself on the steps of a khan ‡, to acquire new strength, whilst the guard had changed the attack into a blockade. The Grand Signior, who frequently went through the town in a disguise which deceived nobody, happening to be at hand, approaches the culprit, calls him by his name, orders him to deliver up his wea-

† A sort of large knife, very long and crooked at the edge, which serves instead of a sabre.

‡ A public place, where merchants and travellers are lodged.

pon, and surrender to the guard; but nothing moves the hero, who, supinely stretched out, stares at his sovereign, and menaces the first who shall dare approach him. Sultan Osman asks him to what Orta § he belongs. On his answer he sends for his Caracoulouctchi *. On his arrival, “disarm that man,” says the Grand Signior to him, “and convey him to the Castle †.

The officer then loosened his girdle *, and holding it in his right-hand, he advances to the rebel, to whom he stretches

§ Company of Janissaries who have no other name than the number of the rank they have amongst each other; and in which the number of soldiers is unlimited. They reckon near thirty thousand Janissaries in the thirty-fifth company.

* The cook of the company, who is also a staff officer.

† The Castle of Europe, on the Canal, where those Janissaries are sent who are ordered to be strangled; and if they escape from thence, they have at least experienced the terror of it.

* A girdle of copper, that weighs 15 pounds, with which their officers can knock down a Janissary. The soldiers respect infinitely this mark of rank, which, although subordinate, is of great authority.

out

out his left, saying, "Comrade, give me your knife, and follow me:" which was executed without reply, and with an air of the most perfect submission. Prejudice will always have more empire over men than fear, more power than despotism.

Sultan Osman was very soon obliged to pay a tribute to that opinion to which he fell a victim. In vain the art of the physicians laboured to restore this Prince's health, whilst the loss of it was concealed, from political motives. He was obliged at length, however, sinking under the disorder, to shut himself up within his palace, and reserve his little remaining strength to enable him to attend the Mosque every Friday. This public ceremony, sanctified by custom, cannot be neglected without exciting the clamours of the military, and the people.

The contradiction which appears on the contemplation of a law that binds the despot, vanishes on reflecting that it is necessarily dictated by the despotism of the multitude, the object of the despot's per-

petual apprehensions. Shut up in the impenetrability of his Seraglio, the sight of him alone can legally prove his existence. Without this precaution, a Visir formidable or artful enough to command, or corrupt two or three persons after the death of his master, might conceal it long enough to undertake any thing with impunity.

It was not, therefore, without occasioning very loud murmurs, that Sultan Osman omitted appearing one Friday in public; in so much, that to appease them, he determined to go the Friday following in ceremony to Saint Sophia, the nearest Mosque to the Seraglio, notwithstanding the state of debility and extreme langour to which his illness had reduced him. On his return, already tottering on his horse, and supported by the footmen who surrounded him, this Prince lost all sense between the two gates of the Seraglio. They threw a shawl* over his head, and he died

* A stuff made of fine wool manufactured in Persia and India, with which the Turks cover their heads,
to

died a few minutes after he was carried to his apartments.

The Vifir, the Mufti, and the great officers of the empire, repaired immediately to the Seraglio to verify the death of Sultan Osman, and to compliment Mustapha the Third, the eldest of Sultan Achmet's sons. The cannon of the Seraglio announced the same day his death to the people, and the Muezzins †, together with the public cryers, proclaimed the new Emperor.

to guard them against the cold, or to conceal themselves. They have cloaks also to protect them; but the Oriental Princes, when they appear in public, cannot avail themselves of that protection from the intemperance of the air; from custom they are obliged to go without it: the motives which induce them to appear, operate equally from covering themselves with any thing which may prevent their being known.

† Muezzins, cryers of the Mosques who call the true believers to prayer, by repeating in a sort of singing tone, "God is great;—God is God;—There is only one God;—Fly to good works;—t'ly to prayers;—God is God, and Mahomet is his Prophet." This last phrase contains also their confession of faith.

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died a few minutes after he was carried to his apartments.

The Visir, the Mufti, and the great officers of the empire, repaired immediately to the Seraglio to verify the death of Sultan Osman, and to compliment Mustapha the Third, the eldest of Sultan Achmet's sons. The cannon of the Seraglio announced the same day his death to the people, and the Muezzins†, together with the public cryers, proclaimed the new Emperor.

to guard them against the cold, or to conceal themselves. They have cloaks also to protect them; but the Oriental Princes, when they appear in public, cannot avail themselves of that protection from the intemperance of the air; from custom they are obliged to go without it: the motives which induce them to appear, operate equally from covering themselves with any thing which may prevent their being known.

† Muezzins, cryers of the Mosques who call the true believers to prayer, by repeating in a sort of singing tone, "God is great;—God is God;—There is only one God;—Fly to good works;—Fly to prayers;—God is God, and Mahomet is his Prophet." This last phrase contains also their confession of faith.

Mourning, in use amongst the Tartars, is not known to the Turks; but if that manner of honouring one's relations be indifferent to them, the precipitation with which they bury their dead, is certainly not a matter of indifference. It seems as if this nation, naturally so grave and listless, possessed activity only in this particular. Scarcely do they wait five or six hours to perform this last office to their relations, and the fear of burying a man in a lethargy, does not deter them §. Besides this abominable alacrity, the Turks who carry the bier, march with an extraordinary quickness, for the Mahometans believe that the soul suffers until the end of the ceremony.

That of the Grand Signior's funeral differs from others only in the importance of

§ The mischiefs resulting from this usage scarcely ever come to light. I have, however, seen a Turk dug up, who had strength enough, in recovering from his lethargy, to cry out under-ground so loud as to be heard; but he had still very nearly fallen a sacrifice to forms, or rather to the fears which the Judge and the Iman, who had already received their fees, were under in restoring him.

the

the great officers who attend it to the Mosque. It is customary for each Emperor to build one, and in the court of the Mosque is the cupola, under which his body is to be deposited. In other respects the Turkish Emperors are buried as hastily as their subjects.

More than thirty years, which were elapsed since the death of Sultan Achmet, father of the new Emperor, had not furnished him with very extensive information. Confined during this long interval to his apartments, with some eunuchs to attend, and some women to amuse him, the conformity of his age with those Princes who were to be his predecessors, left him little hope of succeeding to the throne. But he had greater cause of uneasiness; his two brothers had given no heirs to the empire, at which the people had murmured during the last reign, and fresh apprehensions, or fresh murmurs of this kind, might cost him his life. Attempts had formerly been made on it, by the means which the barbarous policy of that country makes

use of without scruple towards the Princes who are near the throne: his own suspicions, and knowledge of medicine, had preserved him.

This Prince, as well as his brothers, had very short legs, and appeared tall only on horseback. A paleness, attributed to the effects of poison, large eyes starting out of his head, his nose rather flattened, seemed to indicate neither vivacity nor understanding. The love of novelty, however, decided the multitude in his favour. The great men thought him weak, and were in hopes of governing him; the people hoped he would be lavish, and they were all mistaken. We shall hereafter see this Emperor in circumstances which will make him known; and the kindness with which he has distinguished me, will give me the opportunity of developing the different shades of his character.

The first care of an Ottoman Prince, after coming to the Throne, is to let his beard

beard grow*. Sultan Mustapha went a step farther, and painted it black, that it might be the more striking on the day of his first public appearance to have his sabre girt on. This is the form of taking possession; the Coronation of the Turkish Emperor. This ceremony is always performed in the Mosque of Youb, a small village celebrated also for its earthen ware and dairies, and which forms a sort of suburb to the city, towards the bottom of the harbour. Every thing was prepared for this solemnity, and on the morning of the ninth day, all the streets from the Seraglio to Youb were lined on each side by Janissaries in their dress, and cap of ceremony, but without arms, and their hands crossed on their girdles†.

* The Princes shut up in the Seraglio, wear only whiskers, as well as the young men, who only let their beard grow to follow some profession. They commonly call this becoming wise.

† Except their red slippers and stockings, large blue breeches, and the bonnet, they are obliged to wear, the Janissaries dress themselves as they please, and the uniform is only distinguishable from the cut of the cloaths.

The ministers, the great officers, the men of the law, and, in general, all those persons, who, from their situations, are attached to the government, arrive early at the Seraglio, to be in readiness to precede the Grand Signior in the procession. This march begins like our processions, by the persons of the least importance, who file off without order. They are all on horseback, and each of them is surrounded by a group of footmen, numerous in proportion to the rank and fortune of the master. The men of the law are remarkable for the great size of their turbans and the simplicity of their horses housing; but the Janissary Aga's retinue affords the most splendid picture in the whole class of great officers. Besides the number of servants around his horse, he is preceded by two rows of Tchorbadgis †, who march on foot to the right and left before their General. These principal officers, with yellow boots, the corners of their robes tucked up, within their gir-

† Colonel of the Janissaries; the word literally is 'giver of soup.'

dle, each of them carrying a white staff in his hand, and his head covered with a helmet embroidered with gold, on the top of which is a large plume of feathers in the manner of the Romans, form a long alley of feathers, at the bottom of which is seen the Janissary Aga, who overtops the crowd of his attendants ; but an object of real curiosity is the habit of the Achetchy Bachi †, who walks on foot between the two ranks of Colonels, of whom I have been speaking, and only a few paces before this General. An enormous church vestment of black leather, studded with silver nails, covers a boddyce also of leather as ridiculously ornamented. This little waistcoat is fixed on him by a large girdle, with hooks and hinges, from which hang two enormous knives, the handles of which almost entirely cover the face of the Major ; whilst spoons, cups, and other silver utensils,

† Head of the kitchen ; each company has one, who does the duty of Major ; he superintends the living and the principal police. That of the Janissary Aga does the duty of Major General.

suspended

suspended by chains of the same metal, scarcely leave him the use of his feet. In fact, he is so loaded, that on all public occasions when he is obliged to appear in this dress, two Janissaries attend him to bear up his garment.

The Tchaouche Bachi, one of the Ministers of the Porte, whose employment is essentially connected with the civil administration, is preceded by the sergeants of whom he is the chief, and each of whom wears an ostrich feather on the side of his turban. The Bostandgy Bachi is also preceded by two files of Bostandgis, staff in hand, whose habits and head-dresses of scarlet cloth, present to the eye an uniformity far from disagreeable. These different officers of the empire salute the Janissaries to the right and left, who line the street, and who answer by an inclination of the body; but they pay that homage with much more respect to the turbans alone of the Grand Signior, which are borne in ceremony before his Highness. Two of these head-dresses, with their tufts of feathers,

were

were at first intended only as a change for the Emperor, in case he should think proper ; but that custom of pure convenience has become in the end an object of pomp and ostentation.

These turbans, placed on forts of tripods, of silver gilt, are borne by two horsemen, in their right hands, surrounded by a great number of Tchoadars, and these officers have only to incline the turbans a little to the right and left, as the Janissaries, to the number of seven or eight at a time, bend most profoundly to salute the Imperial Aigrets.

In this procession, as curious to behold as difficult to describe, the Visir and the Mufti, both clad in white, the former in fatten the latter in cloth, march by the side of each other, surrounded by their attendants, and preceded by two led horses and the chatirs* of the Visir. On the side of this Minister, march the Alayt-

* A sort of footmen, distinguished by girdles of silver gilt.

chaouches,

chaouches †, who keep constantly moving their silver staves, ornamented with small chains, not unlike childrens rattles, and the noise of which accompanies him even to his own Palace. A loaded waggon, clumsily made, badly carved, but richly gilt, contains a small sofa, and usually follows the Mufti to receive him when he is fatigued.

At last come the captains of the guards of the interior of the Seraglio, and the principal and inferior equerries, who precede the led horses of the Grand Signior. These horses are covered with very rich housings, which drag upon the ground, and leave nothing visible but their heads, and their fronts are ornamented with a tuft of herons feathers; each of them carries also a horse's tail, suspended to the collar, and on the saddle a sabre and a pile of arms, passed through the surcingle, are covered by a shield. Each horse is led by two footmen, who hold a long strap fastened to

† A sort of tipstaff, attached to the dignity of Pacha.

their

their heads ; immediately after follow two ranks of Affekis*, with their sabres slung across the body, and white staves in their hands. A troop of Zulustchis †, with helmets of silver gilt, and uplifted lances, march also in two files, and precede the Peisks. These latter, in the Roman dress, carry the fasces, on the top of which is a silver axe, and march before the solacks §, who, wearing a sort of buskin, and armed with bows and arrows, are adorned with a rich helmet, crowned with a plume of feathers in the form of a fan, which, joining at the extremities, form two rows, in the middle of which the Grand Signior marches alone on horseback. The Prince's

* The Affekis are a picked corps from the Bostandgis.

† The Zulustchis are another sort of troops for the interior of the Seraglio ; they are richly clad, and wear two long curls of hair, which, fastened to their bonnet near the temples, came down as low as their shoulders.

§ Solacks: This word means left-handed. They are to defend the person of the sovereign. They who are on his right hand must draw their bows with their left. This is, no doubt, the origin of their name.

tuft

tuft overtops this magnificent group. His approach inspires a gloomy silence. The Janissaries make a profound reverence until the row of feathers hides the Emperor from their view. On his side, his Highness has the civility to answer this salute, by a slight motion of the head, as he passes, to right and left.

An infinite number of Tchoadars encompass and follow the Grand Signior. They surround also the Selihtar Aga, who bears the Imperial sabre on his shoulder, and wears a dress of gold stuff, which is the only one amongst them that fits the shape.

The Kislar Aga appears next, followed by the Kasnadar Aga*, who closes the procession, and distributes money to the croud who follows him. The Capid-

* Every body knows that the Kislar Aga is the chief of the eunuchs; next to him is the Kasnadar Aga, as black, and not less an eunuch than himself; whose employment is to take care of the private treasure, and to throw money amongst the people on public ceremonies.

gilar Kiayassy §, and the Bostandgy Bachi, who go before the Grand Signior on all public occasions, on their return to the Seraglio must alight at the end of the first court, to be ready to precede his Highness. They quicken their pace accordingly; when they come near, prostrate themselves at his horse's feet, and introduce the Prince into the second court, marching before him to the place where he dismounts, and where he is received by the domestic officers of the Seraglio.

The celebrated Racub Pacha, who had just buried his old master, and installed his new one, was the first to perceive that Sultan Mustapha, to the full as ignorant, but not so inactive as he imagined him, must have employment. I have already painted the character of this first Minister. It will not, therefore, appear extraordinary that his earliest occupation was inhumanly to urge his master to renew the sumptuary laws, and to see them carried into execution himself with the utmost rigour. He

§ Captain of the Guards of the Porte,

was

was no less desirous of encouraging his ignorance, and of rendering his authority odious to the public.

The first acts of his authority were marked with violence and extreme barbarity. The public cryers had not yet finished the proclamation of the law, when the Grand Signior disguised, as well as the executioners of his pleasure who attended him, inflicted punishments on such Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, as he found wearing the colours which are prohibited these three nations. An unfortunate Christian beggar, with an old pair of yellow § Morocco slippers, bestowed on him in charity by a Turk, was stopt by the Grand Signior, and this excuse was not sufficient to save his life. Every day gave birth to some new horror.

The Turks themselves were comprized in this law, which determined even the sort of furs permitted to be worn by each profession, and regulated the make of the cloaths, and the heighth of the head-dress

§ This colour is reserved for the slippers of the Turks.
of

of the women. The Europeans were only exempted, by submitting to wear their cloaths after their own fashion. This law alone, by subjecting them to it, ought for ever to have preserved the Ambassadors from the humiliation of seeing the persons they protected, bastinadoed and otherwise ill-treated, which the Turks would not have attempted if they had never given them any other than foreign dresses.

Two unfortunate events, however, made them relax in this prosecution: it is only from fresh disasters that human nature, suffering under despotism, is relieved from those she already undergoes; and I shall strengthen this remark by observing, that when any person is asked his age at Constantinople, he always replies by quoting the year of the great plague, of the famine, the period of such a rebellion, or of such a conflagration.

The Grand Signior's fleet was in the Archipelago, employed in exacting a tribute from its wretched inhabitants, which they always pay fourfold from this mode of col-

lection ; and the caravan of pilgrims for Mecca, was on the road to Damascus. Constantinople received at the same time the intelligence that the Admiral's ship, whilst the officers and greatest part of the crew were on shore, had been run away with, and carried to Malta by the slaves on board ; and that the caravan, in spite of the Pacha, the cannon, and the troops that escorted it, had been attacked and cut to pieces by the Arabs of the Desert. The prejudices and vanity of the people, wounded at once by these two catastrophes, they lost all respect, and the consternation encouraging their insolence, they had the hardiness to murmur loudly against the Grand Signior, and to impute to him these melancholy events.

Every thing which threatened the established order with too hazardous a commotion, must necessarily disturb Racub Pacha, and that artful Minister soon discovered an expedient to divert the attention of the people, and point it to an agreeable object. The famine still fresh in their minds, furnished

nished him with the means. He circulated amongst the public the magnificent project of dividing Asia Minor by a navigable canal *, fit for the conveyance of provisions, that the capital might no longer be exposed to the risk and uncertainty of sea voyages. It would be necessary for this end to join the river Zachary to the town of Isnic, the ancient Niceum, by means of a lake situated mid-way, the waters of which, by the construction of locks, and supplied by several rivers that might be turned into it, would become inexhaustible. The Drogman of the Porte was sent on a commission to M. de Vergennes to demand my assistance. I went in consequence to the Porte to consult on a plan of operations, and even some of the Ministers took journeys to gather information on the spot; but this whole project, which was only a pretext, vanished with the discontents it had contributed to remove.

* Racub Pacha, better informed than the Turks generally are, had borrowed this project, no doubt, from Pliny.

This event gave me the first insight into the ignorance of the Turks, which I have since completely verified. I was hardly arrived at the Porte before they presented a Greek to me, who, as they said, would be of the greatest service to us in the undertaking. He was the cleverest fellow in the empire: I asked him some questions on levelling, and was very soon able to appreciate his talents, on his shewing me a small plate of copper with which he was to work, and which had at first escaped my notice, for this rare instrument was surrounded by a great number of spectators, ravished with admiration.

As for the unhappy pilgrims of the caravan, the matter terminated by looking on them as martyrs; and his most Christian Majesty having had the goodness to purchase at Malta, and to restore the vessel and the Admiral's flag † which the slaves had

† This flag was the more interesting, as having been given to the Grand Signior by Mecca, the Turks affixed a superstitious value on it. The names of the Prophet's Disciples at the four angles, a two edged

had carried off, calm was re-established for some time in Constantinople.

The Grand Signior, however, fortunately found other employment for his activity than the sumptuary laws. The coin, the verification of the treasury accounts, very soon occupied his whole time. He retrenched also several abuses in the expenditure of his harem, and fixed the annual sum for the maintenance of his women §. The Kislar Aga too, lost, under this reign, all the importance of his office in the administration of the Vakoufs, which was given to the Visir; but a speculation, always dangerous for the Sovereign, proposed to his Highness by one of his favourites, produced such a diminution in the coin, that the false coiners in Turkey

edged sabre for the escutcheon, and some passages of the Alcoran woven in silk, on a crimson stuff, for border, give this flag a talismanic air, which always makes its loss more painful than its possession is of utility.

§ I have been assured that the article of each woman's dress was rated at two hundred and fifty livres a year, about ten guineas English, which could not have been very sumptuous.

work at this day in favour of the people ; no matter what alloy they employ, the Grand Signior's coin is invariably below the nominal value of their money.

The revenues of the empire were not augmented by this manœuvre. The Pachas, who were at once the farmers of the revenue, and governors of the provinces, were not become less rapacious. The eye of the Sovereign was only more attentively fixed on their conduct, for the purpose of despoiling them of the produce of their rapine † : their oppressions continued, and

† This species of confiscation is paid into the private treasury of the Grand Signior. The complaints of the provinces against their governors, make him acquainted with the fortunes of the oppressors ; and the Sovereign's justice, highly offended, no doubt, indemnifies itself, by taking possession of the sums extorted. The unfortunate wretches who cry distress, obtain nothing but the culprits head, and the new oppressor who succeeds him, makes them almost always regret the former. The system of the Turkish finances consists in placing on the surface a great number of sponges, which swelling with the dew, afford the Sovereign the means of acquiring all, by squeezing them into a reservoir, of which he only keeps the key.

the

the danger of appearing rich, did no more than check that prodigality which makes a sort of restitution to the public.

Commerce, attacked in its circulation, very soon experienced that sort of langour which invariably produces the greatest disorders. The artizans were destitute of work, and the want of employment, joined to need, hurried the people on to crimes. The hope of pillage, and the desire of revenging themselves on the rich, multiplied the fires.

A *coundak*, a sort of combustible that consists only in putting a piece of tinder, wrapped in brimstone matches, in the midst of a small bundle of pine shavings, is the method usually employed by these incendiaries. They lay this match by stealth behind a door which they find open, or on a window, and after setting it on fire, they make their escape. This is sufficient very often to produce the most terrible ravages in a town, where the houses built of wood, and painted with aspic oil, afford the easiest

opportunity to the first miscreant who is disposed to reduce them to ashes.

This method employed by the incendiaries, and which often escapes the vigilance of the masters of houses, added to the common causes of fires, gave, for some time, very frequent alarms; but this species of mischief was at length put an end to, by the pregnancy of one of the women of the Seraglio; and, above all, by the fresh activity which this intelligence gave to commerce. The presents usual on these occasions were prepared; every thought was turned towards the *Donanemas**, which had not taken place in the course of two reigns; and the employment of individuals, restored the calm, the continuance of which this event insured, by adding to the weight of the Grand Signior's authority. In fact, of whatsoever sex the child in em-

* The public rejoicings for the birth of the Ottoman princes. In general, when a princess is born, they are given only on the sea, but it was determined that there should be extraordinary entertainments on the birth of the first child of either sex, after so long a sterility.

bryo might prove, this pregnancy at least promised heirs to the empire. Sultan Mustapha, more brilliant than usual, appeared in public with a certainty of pleasing. Some money distributed amongst the people, accomplished his popularity, which is always to be purchased by condescending to spend a little money, and by skilfully using a little address to obtain it.

Murad Mollach had committed errors in this particular: he had not paid sufficient attention to the multitude. His friends apprized him, that in his situation it was necessary to stand better with the people, if he wished to attain the first employments. To please them, therefore, and to ingratiate himself with his master, the Effendi, availing himself of the occasion, he prepared an entertainment for the event, which excited the public joy in the meadow of Buyukdéré.

I shall not be blamed for dwelling on these details, which offer the genuine picture of the manners and customs of a nation.

A rope

A rope was stretched from the top of two posts, placed at the distance of forty feet from each other; suspended to this rope were several pieces of cord, with glass lamps placed at proper distances for the objects the illuminations were intended to represent †. The Grand Signior's cypher, the plan of his boat, a selection of words from the Coran, applicable to the subject, ornamented the illumination during the three days that the entertainment lasted, whilst rope-dancers, a company of Jewish players, and women-dancers, continued to amuse the spectators very late in the night. But this picture appeared to me the most curious by the light of about twenty iron chafing-dishes, raised on stakes, where a constant red flame was

† The principal Mosques are illuminated in the same manner during the Ramazan: their Minarets serve as posts to fasten the principal rope, from whence the lamps are suspended by rings, which slide along as they are lighted from the gallery of one of the Minarets, and as from the gallery of the opposite Minaret they draw a small rope, that joins and supports them at proper distances.

kept

kept, by means of piched rags and fir-wood.

These doleful chandeliers were placed in a circle, to light the buffoons, who occupied the center, and the tents prepared for Murad Mollach and his company, formed, with the croud of assistants, a great line of circumvallation, part of which was occupied by the women of the populace. The illumination placed without this last ring, served only as the sign of invitation to the entertainment, the most precious article of which was undoubtedly the Comedy.

A sort of cage, three feet square, and six feet high, inclosed by a curtain, represents a house, in which is one of the Jewish actors in women's dress; another Jew, dressed as a young Turk, and supposed to be in love with the lady of the house; a valet, no bad buffoon; another Jew in woman's cloaths, playing the lady of easy virtue; a husband who is duped; all the personages, in short, one sees on every stage, occupied the exterior, and composed

fed the piece. But what one fees no where elle, is the *dénouement* ; every thing paffes on the ftage, nothing is left to the imagination of the fpectators ; and if the cry of the Muezzin † happens to be heard during thefe tranfactions, the Muffulmen turn towards Mecca, whilft the actors continue their parts. And I fhall have faid enough of this whimfical affemblage of momentary devotion, and continual indecency, if the reader perceives that this picture, difficult to describe in writing, would be ftill more fo for the pencil.

A fet of aukward rope-dancers, and clumsy wreflers, fome vulgar buffoons, and ftrolling women-dancers, filled up the interval between the Comedies. Amongft thefe women, whofe merit certainly does not confift either in the elegance of their fteps, or in the gracefulness of their attitudes, but who give infinite pleafure to the Turks by fuch talents as they poffefs, one young

† The person who at the top of the Miranets calls the people to prayer.

girl, of ten or twelve years old, of very promising agility, was particularly distinguished; and after each dance, when she went round, as was the custom, with the Diare §, to collect in money the value of those agreeable ideas with which she had furnished the company, the principal Turks of Murad Mollach's company put her up to auction, bidding one against another, placing sequins at the same time on her forehead*, as a mark of their favour. The value of this slave, whose face, notwithstanding, had nothing extraordinary to distinguish it, rose to the sum of twelve purses §, which an old Mollach gave the
merchants,

§ Tambour de basque, that serves to mark the measure.

The Sequin is a gold coin so light, that by placing it on the forehead it sticks sometimes, and this is the manner in which the Turks reward the agility of the dancers.

The purse is of the numerical value of 500 piastras, and which would be equal to 1500 livres French, or 62l. 10s. sterling, if the adulteration of the Grand Signior's coin was not carried so far, as no longer to admit of comparison, and which the Exchange of
Commerce

merchants, as the price of the barren pleasure of perpetuating those ideas which he had lost the hopes of realizing.

Except at the public entertainments, where the licence is unbounded, and permitted, the actors never display their talents, but in private houses, where they are sent for on feasts or weddings. These companies of wretched mountebanks are always composed either solely of men or women. The companies of women represent the inside of the Harems with as much distinction, and as little reserve, as the comedians of whom we have been speaking; but music is the common and most familiar amusement of the Turks.

Their martial music is of the most barbarous kind; enormous drums, struck with a kind of mallet, mix a dead noise with the clear and lively sound of the small kettle-drums, which are accompanied by clarinets, and the shrill trumpets, the

Commerce has since reduced to 25 or 30 per cent. but without reaching the level of the comparative value of the intrinsic specie.

tones

tones of which they force to complete the most discordant crash that can be imagined.

Their chamber music, on the contrary, is very soft; and if one is displeased with the monotony of semi-tones, which at first is very disagreeable, one cannot but allow it a sort of melancholy expression, with which the Turks are very powerfully affected. A violin with three strings, tuned to the Jew's harp, the viol d'amour, which they have adopted, the Dervise flute, softer than our German flute, the tambour, a sort of mandoline, with a long handle, and wire strings, the reed, or Pan's flute, and the tambour de basque, to mark the time, usually compose their orchestra. It is placed at the bottom of an apartment, where the musicians, squat upon the ground, play melodious, or quick airs, without written music, but always in unison, whilst the company, in profound silence, get intoxicated with an enthusiastic langour, by smoking their pipes, and taking pills of opium.

Those

Those amongst the Turks who give themselves up to an immoderate use of opium, are easily to be distinguished by a sort of ricketty complaint, which this poison produces in course of time. Destined to live agreeably only when in a sort of drunkenness, these men present, above all, a curious spectacle, when they are assembled in a part of Constantinople, called *Teriaky Tcharchissy*, the Market of Opium-eaters.

It is there, that towards the evening, one sees the lovers of opium arrive by the different streets which terminate at the *Solymania* ||, whose pale and melancholy countenances would inspire only compassion, did not their stretched necks, their heads twisted to the right or left, their back bones crooked, one shoulder up to their ears, and a number of other whimsical attitudes which are the consequences of the disorder, present the most ludicrous and most laughable picture.

|| The greatest Mosque in Constantinople.

A long

A long row of little shops is built against one of the walls of the place where the Mosque stands ; these shops are shaded by an harbour, which communicates from one to the other, and under which every merchant takes care to place a small sofa for his customers to sit on, without hindering the passage, who place themselves in succession to receive a dose proportioned to the degree of habit and want they have contracted. The pills are soon distributed ; the most experienced swallow four of these, larger than olives, and every one drinking a large glass of cold water upon it, waits in some particular attitude for an agreeable reverie, which, at the end of three quarters of an hour, or an hour at most, never fails to animate these machines, and make them gesticulate in a hundred different manners ; but they are always very extraordinary and very gay. This is the moment when the scene becomes most interesting ; all the actors are happy ; each of them returns home in a state of total ebriety, but in the full and

perfect possession of a happiness which reason is not able to procure him. Deaf to the hootings of the passengers they meet with, who divert themselves by making them talk nonsense, every one of them firmly believes himself in possession of what he wishes; they have the appearance and the feeling of it: the reality frequently does not produce so much pleasure.

The same thing happens in private houses, where the master sets the example of this strange debauch. The men of the law, the most subject to it, and all the Dervises, used to get drunk with opium, before they learnt to prefer the excess of wine. There are in Turkey two kinds of this species of Monks, very different from each other, but equally remarkable. The difference between them proceeds from the sort of regulation that their founder has imposed respectively upon them; that of the Mewliach Dervise is to turn round like a totum, to the sound of a tolerably soft music, and to acquire a holy intoxication from the vertigos, which are the natural

con-

consequence of this strange exercise, if habit did not prevent that effect, which, however, they generally make up for at the tavern. The custom of the other Monks, called *Takta-tepen**, is more doleful, and more savage. It consists in gravely marching one after another round their chapel, and pronouncing the name of God with a loud voice, which they strain at every stroke of a drum beaten on the occasion; but very soon the strokes gradually following closer, become so loud, that these wretches are obliged to make great exertions of their lungs, and the most devout never finish the procession without spitting blood. The appearance of these Monks is always gloomy and austere, and they are so persuaded of the sanctity of their practice, and so sure of pleasing Heaven by their howlings, that they never look on other men but with the most profound contempt.

* Beater on boards. Perhaps in the beginning they had no other instrument.

There are other Monks also in Turkey, and Santons, who go about the country : it is dangerous to meet them in a wood ; under the cloak of religion they get admittance to the houses of devotees, and are every where the worst company one can find.

Such of the Dervises as are impudent enough to profit by the general ignorance, set themselves up for prophets, and prophecy unpunished. If the event has justified the predictions they have hazarded, they pass immediately for saints, and are held in the highest estimation ; but even those who are unsuccessful pass only for fools, but do not forfeit their right of admittance every where. Nothing can resist their effrontery ; the name of God, prostituted by these knaves, has always an influence on the superstitious multitude ; and I have seen one of them come and seat himself with the greatest insolence, by the side of the Visir, whilst I was in secret conversation with him, and people of the highest rank were kept at a distance. The fanaticism of the public compels a tacit submission

submission in the more enlightened, and the most powerful Turks cannot get rid of this rabble for a moment without giving them money, the only effect of which is to render them more troublesome and insolent.

Rachub Pacha, better informed than the Turks are in general, whether with a view of destroying ignorance, or to leave behind him a monument of his taste for literature, built at his own expence, a large dome, for the purpose of founding a public library, there being no such institution at Constantinople. A thousand or twelve hundred Arabic or Persian manuscripts, which the Visir had collected and bequeathed to this library, were ranged on shelves, disposed in the form of circular pyramids, in the center of the rotunda. A librarian was appointed, the public had the right of entering at stated hours, and Rachub founded the necessary expence. But nothing certainly will ever lay the foundation of the instruction of the Turks, as long as the difficulties of their language

prescribe its limits to the sole talent of reading and writing.

The press might have extended them : one Ibrahim Effendi had established that useful art of multiplying copies ; he even printed several works, but which had a very indifferent sale, although he selected the most promising. But what success, in fact, could be expected from an art, which on the first glance, reduced to nothing the talents of those who passed for men of knowledge ? They became at once judges and parties in their own cause : the art of printing could not attain the perfection of joining the letters ; it was despised, and Ibrahim shut up shop.

Rachub himself was not free from that false science which takes a pride in overcoming difficulties. He amused himself with joining the letters so as they could not be decyphered ; and above every thing, he delighted in playing upon words : many strokes of this bad kind of wit, tolerably pleasant, are still recounted of him, but which, from the very circumstance of their

their belonging to the Turkish glossary, cannot be translated.

Disengaged by the natural energy of his mind from all those prejudices which degrade almost universally the Turkish nation, this Visir derived a source of entertainment even from the most atrocious objects. We may suppose that Mahometanism itself did not escape his pleasantry.

An European presents himself one day at the Porte, and signified by his gestures more than by his language, that he wished to become a Turk, and that he was a German. Besides the necessity of calling some person who could understand him, it is expressly stipulated by treaties, that no European can lawfully renounce his religion but in the presence of a Drogman.— One of the interpreters of the German embassy was found, and conducted to the Visir, whom he informed that the new comer was a native of Dantzick, which place he had quitted expressly for the purpose of embracing the Mahometan religion at Constantinople. This resolution appeared to Rachub too

singular not to excite his curiosity to know the real motive ; and the candidate, questioned a second time, devoutly replied,—
“ That Mahomet had appeared to him in a vision, to invite him to merit all the favours bestowed upon his followers.”—
“ There is a strange rogue for you !” says the Visir, “ Mahomet has appeared to him at Dantzick !—To an infidel !—when, notwithstanding the exactness with which I have said the five prayers to him for more than seventy years, he has never done me that honour. Tell him, Drogman, that nobody deceives me with impunity ; that he must, doubtless, have killed his father and mother ; that I will order him to be hanged up, if he does not tell me the truth.” Terrified at this menace, the traveller confessed that he had been a schoolmaster at Dantzick, and that after some time, he had been so unlucky as to furnish matter for some disagreeable suspicions ; that the parents of the boys entrusted to his care had cruelly perplexed him ; that, at length the magistrates were
disposed

disposed to handle him a little roughly; that to escape from their sentence, and well informed that at Constantinople they did not make such a stir about such a trifle, he was come to change his head-dress, in hopes of being very soon himself sufficiently instructed to contribute also to the education of the Turkish youth. "Make him declare his confession of faith," replied the Visir, "and take this convert to such a Mollach's house, who must provide for his support: they are formed for each others society; I make him a present of this comrade; but let the Iman of the quarter be told to go and instruct them both, and acquaint them, *that no religion has ever tolerated their doctrine.*"

The practice regularly pursued by the Turkish Emperors of building and endowing a Mosque, has so multiplied these temples, that building-ground was become very scarce at Constantinople. Sultan Mahamout had determined to erect one at Scutary; he died, and Sultan Osman finished it. Mustapha, however, found means

means to purchase in his capital a piece of ground large enough for the Mosque which he intended building. This Prince, to supply the deficiency of those houses he was about to destroy, and to endow this new Mosque, had formed the project of making a jettée, on a shallow bank of the Sea of Marmora, near the walls of the city, there to form a new quarter.

The ignorance of the architects strove a long time, and under great disadvantages, against the waves of the sea; and avarice, which always learns to its cost, that there is no true œconomy but in well placed expences, was at length compelled to give way to necessity; all the money which had been lavished until that time was thrown away; every thing must be begun at fresh expence; caissons were employed, and this expedient succeeding, the work was completed.

The principal part of the Turkish proprietors of houses, purchased for the site of the Mosque, became inhabitants of the new buildings, and renters of the new temple,

temple, which was finished under the reign of its founder. The interest or religious zeal of the proprietors presented no obstacle to Mustapha in the purchase of such houses as were convenient for his plan. Sultan Soliman, the greatest Ottoman Prince, was not so fortunate in similar circumstances; and the anecdote in question appears to me the more interesting, as it may give some idea of the legal value of property in Turkey.

The site of the projected Solimania was fixed on, and Sultan Soliman seemed to have no impediment to fear in the necessary purchases; when a Jew, possessor of a house of little value, refused to part with it at any price. The most tempting offers were made him without success. The Israelite remained inflexible, and his obstinacy prevailed over his avarice. Every person of Sultan Soliman's Court, accustomed to see the universe bend before this Prince, anticipated with applause the prospect of seeing the Jew's house razed from its foundation, and the Jew himself dragged to condign

condign punishment; but fortunate are those Princes who do not confound the man with the Sovereign, nor imagine they have a right to exercise their authority to gratify their personal resentment! Fortunate the Princes who stay till justice pronounces in their cause, and whose minds are so enlarged as to look beyond the applauses of their surrounding courtiers!

Such was Sultan Soliman.—He descended from the throne to interrogate the law. “A man,” wrote he to the Mufti, “intends raising a temple to the divinity; all the Mussulmen, proprietors of the ground necessary for the purpose, hasten to partake of the good work, by selling their houses; one person only, and he a Jew, obstinately refuses every offer:—What punishment does he deserve?”—“None,” replies the Mufti; “the property of individuals is sacred without distinction, and a temple cannot be erected to God whose very foundation rests on the violation of so holy a law. It is favourable in this instance to the Jews apparent desire of leaving his children

children a property, the value of which might otherwise be dissipated; but this ground may be rented, that is the Sovereign's right whenever he has occasion for a house. An agreement must, therefore, be made with the Jew and his heirs for a certain annual rent; by this means his property will remain inviolate, the house may be knocked down, and the Mosque built without fearing that the prayers of the Mussulmen will be rejected." The Mufti's fetfa was carried into execution.

It is usual on founding Mosques, to add the endowment of public schools, where the children of the district go to learn their prayers. Many rich persons build fountains also, and Namas-Giack* to point out to devout Mussulmen the direction of Mecca. This sort of luxury displays itself with profusion, particularly in the country. Superstition has multiplied these

* Ground laid out for prayers. A stone on which the profession of faith is usually written, points out the direction of Mecca; whilst a fountain serves the Mussulmen for ablution.

little establishments; they are worth a great number of indulgencies, and the Turk who obtains them has a daily demand.

Those, of which persons in office are in continual want to save themselves in this world, are purchased rather higher; and the necessity they are under of preserving the Grand Signior's favour, furnishes a temptation for avarice, ambition, and fear, to make innumerable speculations, and very often erroneous calculations. The most œconomical method, undoubtedly, when it succeeds, is to obtain the Grand Signior's acceptance of a slave that pleases him, and who will be grateful enough to use her interest in favour of her former master. I have seen, at my mother in law's, one of those Georgian women destined by Sultana Asma to the superlative honour of amusing his Highness, and I perceived nothing very striking in her more than a girl of eighteen years old, of a middle size, very robust, and who might pass for a good pretty alehouse wench. She had, it must be owned, large black eyes, the beauty of which

which, common enough in Turkey, would have distinguished her in any other country; but they were inanimate, and the *surmé* they were blackened with did not render them more agreeable.

I will not incur the reproach of neglecting to speak of the drug so celebrated, and so much made use of throughout Asia. It is a black, impalpable powder, so volative that it adheres in a sort of dew to a brass wire, fixed to the cork of the flask which contains it. The art of using it consists in drawing out the brass wire, of which the cork forms the handle, without touching the edges of the flask, so as to shake of the black powder. They put the point of this needle into the inner corner of the eye, keeping the eye-lids open at the same time, and draw it gently across towards the temples, so as to leave two black stripes within the eye-lashes, which give a very harsh air to the handsomest eyes; but which the Turks take for an air of softness.

But

But what will appear still more extraordinary, is, that the men themselves, and, above all, the old men are guilty of this coquetry. The use of *surmé* is almost general. It is supposed, 'tis true, to possess the virtue of strengthening the sight; but it is more certain that the effect of *surmé* is disagreeable to that sense †. Every thing which

† This practice is less common amongst the people, and seems to be more particularly confined to the state of opulence, and a sort of inaction necessary to this kind of beauty; for it is evident that this impalpable powder, laid ever so carefully on the edge of the eye-lids, would spread itself disagreeably by a copious perspiration. That class of the people, however, always most numerous, whose labour exacts a daily tribute from idle luxury, has likewise its peculiar mode of decoration, which consists, as in almost all savage nations, in covering the arms and legs, and sometimes the breasts, with figures pricked out on the skin, and which being rubbed, before they are healed up, with some colour, preserve that which penetrates. The blue produced by gunpowder is the most in use; and their prejudices furnish the principal subject of these fantastical designs. The names of Jesus and of Mahomet, distinguish the Christian and the Turk employed at the same labour. Gallantry has likewise its share in this sort of ornament, and one very often seen amorous verses intermixed with passages

which can contribute to the preservation of beauty, or supply the want of it, is sought after in this country with extreme eagerness, and the *Chiotes* † at Constantinople are in possession of this quackery. But never has their art of rendering the skin fresh, protracted the moment when it naturally ceases to be so. They may be accused with more apparent justice of accelerating the destruction of beauty in Turkey, did not the immoderate use of hot baths ruin it more effectually than the *sulimé* §.

The construction of these baths ought to be described, that after examining their effects, we may be able to estimate the consequences. Two small chambers of brick, lined with marble or stucco, communicate with each other, and are respectively lighted by small domes, perforated in the

fages from the Alcoran; but this species of gallantry is not always sufficiently determinate to prevent errors on the subject.

† Inhabitants of Chios.

§ Sulime is a sort of paint to whiten the skin and make it shine.

form of chequers. This small building is joined to the house by an apartment to undress in. Double-sashed doors, lined with felt, shut in the first and second part of the bath. A subterraneous vault, to which one enters from without, serves to heat it. This vault is of the size of the lower apartment, and heats also a cauldron placed directly under the marble floor of the bath, up to the very cieling of the vault below, where a fire of dry wood is kept. Funnel placed in the middle of the walls, run from the inside of the cauldron, and rise without the cupola, to carry off the evaporated water, which is kept constantly boiling. Other pipes, concealed also in the masonry, run from a reservoir, and convey cold water into the building, by means of cocks placed at the side of those which convey the hot water. Little alcoves of well polished wood are disposed in the form of seats, and gutters cut out of the marble carry off the water.

These private baths, always heated four and twenty hours before-hand, are by these
con-

contrivances carried to such a degree of heat, that after stripping quite naked in the outer-chamber, and putting on very high wooden sandals, to prevent the feet being burnt on the marble floor, one cannot still advance into the first apartment without giving the lungs time to dilate between the two first doors, and this dome; it is impossible to proceed into the second bath, under which is the real stove, without taking the same precaution; and it may safely be pronounced, that the air of this apartment is to that of the first, as that is to the external air. A sudden perspiration, which streams from every pore, is the first effect on entering, but the violence of that heat, and of its effects, do not prevent the women from remaining in these baths five or six hours at a time, and from using them very frequently.

They who have not private baths, frequent the public ones, which are always prepared to contain a great number of people.

Some women, however, more delicate and scrupulous than others, take the baths for themselves, whither they are accompanied by their female friends, and where, to complete the entertainment, they take their dinner. The charm of a greater freedom, and that of conversing together all the day, are deemed a sufficient recompence, no doubt, for the disagreeable choice of their place of rendezvous.

The women bathers, called *telleks*, with little bags of serge in their hands, rub the skin till it is dry. They make use also of a very fine clay, kneaded with rose leaves, and afterwards dried in the sun, to rub the head with, as a substitute for soap, pouring hot water on it at the same time from large metal cups. The womens hair thus cleaned and perfumed, is then plaited in a number of little tresses.

The reader will not find, in this description, the pearls, the diamonds, the rich stuffs, and all the charms with which Lady Mary Montague has set off these baths. One can scarcely believe, either, that her
Ladyship

Ladyship really entered them with all her cloaths on, as the publisher of her letters has made her say*. It is very certain, however, that a too frequent use of these baths opens the pores at length to such a degree, as to render them sensible to the eye; and it is no less certain, that so violent a dilatation of the fibres, by impairing the shape, brings on decrepitude before old age.

These public baths, dispersed in great numbers through every quarter of the town, serve also for the men; but not at the same hours set apart for the women. A man who should dare attempt to enter when the women are assembled there, would be severely punished for his rashness, even

* In the new edition of that Lady's letters, we are assured that every thing contained in them has been verified. This assertion of the editor ought, in my opinion, to be accompanied with proofs and authorities. But the public is never difficult on the subject of errors which amuse them. Interest, which profits by this facility, is not more scrupulous; and they who only love the truth, must limit themselves to a faithful exposition, without undertaking to defend it.

should he have the good fortune to escape the tasses †, the sandals ‡, and the wet pestemals § that would be thrown at him. The Turkish women are implacable when the only object of the men is to insult them; but one cannot, without horror, cast an eye on the fatal consequences of that excessive debauchery to which they sometimes abandon themselves. I do not speak of those women whose beauty is so often prostituted for money, and whose mutilated corpses I have seen in the environs of Constantinople. The atrocious barbarity of those men who assassinate them to save their money, or to avoid the danger of being apprehended in bringing them back to the city, can only be explained from mo-

† Tasse, a Turkish word, in English, cup, the pronounciation and meaning of which is French.

‡ Sandal; this word has also the same connection with the French language; it is a wooden sole that fits the foot, and is fastened by a thong; but there is this difference in Turkey, that their sandals are raised on two cross pieces of wood, five or six inches high.

§ Pestemal, a piece of stuff made of silk or cotton, which is reserved for modesty in the baths.

tives

tives of avarice or fear. I speak of women of a higher condition, who are hurried away by an ungovernable passion, and escape clandestinely from their prisons. These unfortunate women always carry off their jewels, and think they can possess nothing too precious for the man who receives them. The fatal inclination which leads them astray, prevents them from perceiving, that it is to these very riches they owe their ruin.

The villains whom they go in search of, seldom fail to punish their inconsiderate rashness after a few days possession, and to make sure of their effects by the most monstrous of all crimes; but which this government is the least vigilant to punish. One often sees the naked bodies of these unfortunate wretches floating in the harbour, under the windows of their murderers; yet these tremendous examples, so well calculated to intimidate the women and to calm this furor, neither frighten nor correct them.

It is to prevent the more frequent repetition of these disorders, during the solemn feasts and public rejoicings, that the government totally prohibits the appearance of women.

The pregnancy announced in the Seraglio, was now near its term of expiration; all the preparations for the entertainments were completed, and nothing was wanting but the order of the government to begin them.

It is only since my intimacy with the Turks, that I have learnt with any degree of certainty what passes on occasion of births in the Seraglio, and I shall give the detail in this place, to avoid recurring to the subject.

On the first pains of labour, the Visir, the Mufti, the great officers, and heads of the military, are sent for to the Seraglio, to wait the moment of the delivery, in the Hall of the Sopha, for so they call the intermediate apartment* which separates

* This room in private houses is called Mabin Odassi, the literal meaning of which is, the intermediate chamber.

that

that part of the Seraglio called the harem, from the rest of the buildings occupied by the Grand Signior and his household.

Twelve pieces of cannon, four pounders, and which are called the cannon of the fopha, are ranged along this chamber, which looks upon the sea. There is also a battery of Swedish cannon, situated in the Cypress Wood, which is very improperly called the garden of the Seraglio, half way between that and the walls of Byzantium, which form the inclosure of the Palace, and which are lined without with a monstrous artillery, whose fire crosses that of the battery of Tophana, situated on the other side of the harbour.

As soon as the Sultana was delivered, the Kislar Aga came out of the Seraglio with the child, which was a Princess; he presented it to the grand officers, who prepared the register of its birth and sex, after which the pieces of the fopha gave their salute, which being heard only by the battery half way, was repeated from thence, and followed by those from the point of
the

the Seraglio, and from Tophana. To these different salutes, succeeded those from the Custom-house, from the Admiralty, and from Leander's Tower §. The public cryers immediately published this

§ This tower, situated on a detached rock, facing Constantinople, and nearer Scutary than the capital, is called, by the Turks, Kis-Coulessy, the Girl's Tower. They pretend that it served long as a prison for a Greek princefs.—The name the Europeans give it, makes one presume that it was formerly looked upon as the dwelling of Hero, but we must be always very circumspect in this sort of conjectures, to avoid ridicule, and even absurdity. Some travellers have placed a pillar of Pompey at the mouth of the Black Sea, where that illustrious Roman never was; they have called another pillar one sees at Alexandria by the same name, which certainly was never raised by Pompey. And to return to the environs of Constantinople:—There is an old tower on the borders of the Euxine Sea, which remains amongst the ruins of several others of the same construction, built in a line at equal distances, which served in former times to give the alarm by signals on the appearance of Cossack vessels, whose piracies were very formidable to the inhabitants living on the Black Sea. This detached tower, in this region of romance and barbarism, was without a name, and we Europeans, who have the rage of wishing to know and explain every thing, called it after the tower celebrated by Ovid.

event

event, and the new-born Sultana was proclaimed *Eibe-Doullach*, given by God: Public rejoicings were ordered to continue seven days on the land, and three on the water, which was never practised heretofore, but on the birth of a Prince; but it was thought necessary to do that honour to the first born after two barren reigns. These entertainments answered the purpose also of gaiety, of which there was much need; and though they were very expensive, and a heavy burthen to the people, even the merchants consoled themselves for the necessity of shutting up their shops in seeing despotism equally suspend its operations.

In fact, all the instruments of tyranny, who in general serve only to oppress humanity, appear to have no other occupation than to patronize licentiousness in these times of public rejoicings. On these occasions, the Saturnalia of ancient Rome are revived at Constantinople. The slaves have liberty to breathe, to make merry before their masters, and even to be merry at
their

their expence. New actors take possession of the stage, the great are presented with a picture of their own foibles, and, confounded with the people, are obliged, from custom, to laugh at it themselves, or at least to assume that appearance.

As for the rest, one may easily conceive that a government, which from its very nature seems to smother every sentiment of joy, cannot compel it to appear, without retiring itself out of sight, and that poor human nature, always easily imposed on, always ready to adopt every flattering illusion, no sooner loses sight of her tyrants, than she eagerly avails herself of a moment's relaxation to snatch a feeble and transient glimmering of happiness.

The Greeks, above all, naturally gay and riotous, give themselves up, on these occasions, to all the intemperance of joy, making a quick transition from oppression to happiness, from humility to insolence.

Let us here take a view of the scenery of this new theatre, and place the actors on the stage. Posts, fixed at three or four feet

feet distance, before the shops, and on the edges of the foot-way, on each side of the street, are joined together at the top by arches, which extend also to the houses. This slight wooden roof, covered with branches of laurel, mixed with curled paper of different colours, forms the bowers, to which are suspended tinsel leaves, which the least wind puts in motion with a rustling noise, whilst their glittering surface reflects the light of the glass lamps, and coloured lanthorns, with which the whole building is decorated. The gates of the houses of individuals are likewise ornamented with an elegance proportioned to the importance and vanity of the proprietor; but the houses of the great exhibit the highest excess of magnificence in their decorations. The streets adjoining are covered to a certain distance in the form of bowers, of a sufficient height to prevent the lamps and tinsel work from straightening the passage for persons on horseback; and these porticos, thus decorated, are continued even into the inner courts

courts of their palaces, where halls, built expressly for the occasion, richly furnished and lighted by a quantity of lustres, whose light is reflected from an infinite number of glasses, offer to the curious a place of repose, in which the master of the house does the honours according to the quality of his guests. Others content themselves with furnishing the lower part of their gateway, and the two folding doors thrown open, invite the passenger to stop and take a dish of coffee or other refreshments ordered by the master, and with which his servants are always eager to supply.

The gate of the Visir, and that of the Janissary Aga *, are above all remarkable for the sumptuousness of their decorations, and

* Pacha Capouffi and Aga Capouffi, the gate of the Pacha and the gate of the Aga, signify the house of the Visir, and that of the General of the Janissaries. One of the common people, or even a person inferior to him of whom he speaks, says also I have been, or have served at the gate of such a one; but the term Capou, or Capi, Gate, pronounced singly, always means the Prime Minister's Palace, the place where all great affairs are discussed.

the

the profusion of trinkets which are whimsically interspersed with the richest ornaments. One cannot help beholding, with astonishment, the hall of the Divan, that dreadful tribunal, that terror of nature, dressed out and displayed, only for a few days, the image of gladness.

Twenty lanthorns, on which are painted ludicrous and often obscene figures, mixed with transparencies, inscribed with the name of God, of his attributes, the Grand Signior's cypher, or some play upon words. Pieces of looking-glass cut into the form of suns, to give a brilliancy to the illuminations, amuse the multitude, whose numbers never diminish. Those persons, who, from their age and the importance of their stations are naturally the most serious†, are equally delighted with these

† The desire of obliging one of my Turkish friends had induced me to carry a toy which was rather pretty to his son; the child seemed very happy with me, and I entertained myself with the pleasure I was about to give him, when at the sight of the plaything, I perceived

these trivial and puerile imitations. I have seen a little palace, of glass clipping and in-glass, made by an European, sold for three thousand livres, about one hundred and twenty guineas, to the Visir, to make a figure in his temporal shop.

So much profusion at the houses of the Ministers and of the great men, would lead one naturally to imagine, that on such an occasion the illumination of the Seraglio would greatly surpass all the others.

A string of lamps decorates the first gate, and some coloured lanthorns light such passengers as curiosity leads towards

perceived him shorten his step, walk gravely into the room, look at my present with a marked indifference, sit down in the most serious manner, and wrap himself up in his little haughtiness. Soon after comes in the grandfather, and by a most singular contrast, the old man launches out on the neatness of the workmanship, sits down on the carpet to admire it, turns it over, examines it minutely, plays with it, and finishes by breaking it. This scene at first appeared strange to me, but a more thorough knowledge of Turkey, has since taught me every thing in that country worthy of observation, either in point of singularity or instruction.

that

that which separates the two courts. This gate, as well as the first entrance, is very faintly lighted; sufficiently, however, to enable one to distinguish some old colours, great hatchets and shields, some piles of arms, and fish bones, which pass for those of giants, and other objects of as great importance *. But the gate of the Armory, which is on the left on entering this court, presents many very curious articles of ancient armory †. The Mint, more agreeably decorated, exhibits a very different picture. An infinite number of lamps, from a tapestry of new piaftres ‡, isolettes §, pa-

* In this first rejoicing, an old bishop's mitre, amongst other trophies, was suspended to the key-stone of the roof.

† The most remarkable article in this depository is a Catapulta, which is the only one existing; but the Turks make so little account of it, that it was only by chance in searching the magazine, that I discovered this precious morsel of antiquity, buried under a heap of rubbish. This magazine of arms was formerly a Greek church.

‡ Money equal to half a crown.

§ About a shilling and ten-pence halfpenny, or thirty paras.

ras ||, and sequins *, are arranged in various forms. This is also the only place in the Seraglio where the curious are even tolerably received by the Zarphana Eminy †. If every thing in the city announces that despotism has left an open field for the greatest excesses of a fanatic joy, the truly mournful aspect of the first court of the Seraglio, makes us feel that the interior of these formidable walls is still that impenetrable asylum, where despotism, in a listless anxiety, awaits the hour to put an end to the intoxication of a momentary liberty, which animates every individual.

In fact, this excessive gaiety of the people can only be looked upon as a fit of phrenzy, which might alarm the despot, if he permitted it to last. I have already said that the Greeks distinguish themselves

|| A small piece of silver, of a farthing value.

* A piece of gold of more or less value, and the most generally known called Zeremapouls, are at present worth seven shilling and sixpence English, allowing always for the difference of 20 per cent. on the Grand Signior's money, by the exchange with Europe.

† Inspector of the Mint.

in a peculiar manner by their insolent and unbounded joy. The Jews, on the contrary, always occupied by commerce, always tormented by the thirst of gain, after profiting as much as possible by the fabrication and sale of lanterns, make a trade of their buffooneries before the houses of the great, where *paras* are distributed to every Merry-Andrew who presents himself.

Many persons in office have stationary comedies before their houses, on various subjects, but always of the most indecent kind, which are performed to the great satisfaction of the public; and in these pieces the government itself is as little respected as manners. One sees every moment companies of Greeks and Jews representing the different officers of the empire, and exercising their respective functions to turn them into ridicule. In one of these entertainments, at which I was present, the dress of the Grand Signior himself, and of all his retinue, were treated with the same disrespect. A company

of Jews had the presumption to mimic him; it is true, that this insolent imitation was soon put a stop to, but they still continued to counterfeit the Grand Visir, and, of course, no other officer was spared.

I saw, amongst others, a fictitious Stambol Effendissy † who was permitted very quietly to exercise pretty severe distributive justice. Chance threw him in the way of the real one; they very gravely exchanged a salute, and proceeded on their way. Another troop, who had counterfeited the Janissary Aga, went and took possession of this General's house, whilst he was taking his rounds, and his servants treated the masque with as much distinction as if he had been their master. These pleasantries were followed by other strokes of wit not quite so agreeable, but which had the same licence. Pretended directors of bridges and causeways, followed by pavours, took up the stones before the

† Lieutenant of Police of Constantinople.

doors

doors of several individuals, who were obliged to buy themselves off at a considerable price. Other masques, in the dress of fire-men, obtained ransoms in a different manner. In a word, all sorts of extortion were practised; and to perfect the illusion, they were acted to the life. All this, however, became at length burthenfome and inconvenient; but the stated time expired, the cudgel again appeared, and order was resumed †.

Despotism was constrained, notwithstanding, still to respect liberty during the the three evenings destined for the fire-works on the sea.

The Marine corps, the corps of Dgebedgis ‡, and of the artillery, had each of them

† The Befistins present in the Donanemes the richest coup-dœiul; that of the jewellers is particularly brilliant in precious stones, which the merchants expose there, and these covered markets are really most curious and most truly magnificent objects. The Tcharchis, other markets, where all sorts of drugs are collected, appear to me also to be tolerably well decorated.

‡ Dgebedgis; there is no resemblance between this and any of our corps. Their duty is to take care of

them prepared an entertainment of fire-works for three succeeding nights.

Some large rafts towed into the middle of the harbour, opposite to Yaly Kiosk §, where the Grand Signior was to be, were disposed in such a manner, as to exhibit the consolatory spectacle of the taking of Malta, or of some engagement in which the Mahometans infallibly get the better of the Christians. A great number of petards, so much smoke, and so little fire, that in the clearest intervals one could scarcely discover the walls of the paste-board castle that was attacked, give no very high idea of the talents of the fire-workers; neither is their success very brilliant in the art of firing sky-rockets. The greatest part of these rockets, after having languished on the scaffolding, are extinguished in

the arms, powder, and all such implements of war as are kept in magazines.

§ The Kiosk of the Admiralty; it is situated without the Seraglio, on the sea shore, and is made use of for all the ceremonies relative to the fleet, as well as for the embarkation and disembarkation of the Grand Signior.

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the sea before the case has time to take fire.

The gerb-rockets, lighter and better proportioned, rise a little higher; but in general they light very slowly, from the aukward disposition of their matches, and go off in very irregular directions: it must be owned, however, that even these defects give an air of profusion and duration to the Turkish flower-pots, which makes them very pleasing. The general applause does not take place until the moment when unfortunate Greeks or Jews, hired to wear European dresses, and to defend the place attacked with a few serpents, which are soon expended, are assaulted, overturned, and on account of their dress, are beaten with the fist, according to the rights of war, and which, in their character of infidels, they are permitted to return.

The pleasure of knocking down and beating the Christians is so high a regale for the Turks, that Sultan Mahamout's favourites, in other respects very amiable, could contrive nothing better for their master's

amusement, at an entertainment they gave him in the Seraglio, and the subject appeared to them so simple, and so natural, that they made no scruple of requesting the European Ambassadors to lend them their wardrobes. They put these cloaths on the backs of Jews, always destined to be beaten, and always ready to take a beating when they are paid for it. All the Grand Signior's courtiers agreed that those fellows had never earned their money better than on that day.

The Jews might certainly do as they thought proper; but was it necessary to lend these cloaths? and ought not our Europeans to have felt the disagreeable consequences which always follow from allowing themselves to be thus turned into ridicule?

These rejoicings were scarcely finished, before a fresh pregnancy was announced, which produced Sultan Selim; and the Princess Eibé-Doullach, the first child, was married at six months old, to a Pacha established in his government, whom it
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was more their intention to plunder than to favour, and who felt very forcibly the necessity of making an annual remittance of one hundred thousand piaſtres, for the maintenance of his young wife, as well as for the honour of ſo deſirable an alliance.

Milek Pacha experienced alſo a diſagreeable circumſtance of the ſame kind, which muſt ſtill more ſenſibly have hurt him.—Young, amiable, and arrived at the office of Captain Pacha §, he enjoyed quietly within himſelf the pleaſure of having only one wife, who occupied all his attention, and who loved him tenderly. The goodneſs of his maſter had juſt raiſed him to the dignity of Viſir ||, and nothing was wanting

§ A Captain Pacha; at ſea this dignity is equivalent to that of Admiral; but it cannot be compared with it when the fleet is laid up. That place only gives the rank of Pacha with two tails. It is ſometimes held, however, by Viſirs of the Bench; that is to ſay, by ſuch Pachas as, from their rank, wear the ſame bonnet as the Grand Viſir, and have a ſeat at the Grand Signior's Divan during their ſtay at Conſtantinople.

|| All the Pachas of three tails are called Viſirs.—This dignity, therefore, muſt not be confounded with that

wanting to complete his happiness, when a sister of the Grand Signior, a widow for the sixth time, saw him pass at a public ceremony. Struck with Melek's handsome face, the old Sultana demanded him of her brother, who immediately signified to the Admiral that he intended honouring him with his alliance. This came upon him like a clap of thunder ; but there was no remedy, and Melek was obliged instantly to part with his wife, who survived this misfortune only a few days ; but the Pacha, more resolute, or less sensible, resigned himself to circumstances. He continued to please ; nay, he was even such a favourite, as to induce the Grand Visir to rid himself of so dangerous a rival, by obtaining for him a government, which freed him also from the caresses of his antiquated Princesses †.

Sultan

that of Grand Visir. This last is distinguished by the great seal of the empire ; the Grand Signior's signet. He possesses the chief instrument of despotism. On this account he is called Vizir Azem, or the Grand Visir.

† We have already seen that the Sultana's cannot

Sultan Mustapha continued to employ himself in his finances, by assiduously stripping the accomptants, and by applying to his own use, in confiscations, what these knaves had been stealing in the empire. Already did his Highness enjoy the satisfaction of having completed several *hafnes* †, and sealed them up; but this was a very insignificant gratification of his ruling passion; he was determined to attempt the

go out of Constantinople. Despotism fears, no doubt, that in letting them remove to a distance with their husbands the male infant which might be born would escape the blow.

† *Hafne* signifies treasure, and is made use of for the whole of the Sovereign's treasure. But it is also used as an expression of number, and in that case means 10,000 purses, which, with the difference of exchange, is equal to about fifteen millions of French livres, or about 875,000*l.* sterling; and the seal is put on the coffers when this sum is completed, as it is usual in France to seal a bag containing 1200 livres. Mustapha took such pleasure in this occupation, that he sacrificed every thing to increase his treasure: he sold a great many of his trinkets by auction, and even sent to the Mint all the gold and silver vessels given him by the Court of Denmark on the conclusion of their treaty with the Porte.

fortune

fortune of the Pacha of Bagdad. The independant conduct of that Governor, held out, in fact, more than one pretext for the desire of despoiling him ; but it was much easier to pronounce the order than to carry it into execution. Wealth and distance are very efficacious weapons of defence.

Mustapha flattered himself that he should be able to effect, by surprize, what he could not hope to accomplish by threats. A Capidgi Bachi §, apparently the bearer of a mark of friendship, but actually provided with an order, addressed to the Judges

§ Capidges Bachis, a sort of Chamberlains who take under the arm every body who is admitted to the Grand Signior's audience, and conduct them to his Highness. They are likewise employed in all the extraordinary commissions which have for their object the execution of the Sultan's orders of every kind. To collect provisions, to raise troops, to confirm a Pacha, to extort money from him, to cut off his head, or after they despoil him of his wealth, to conduct another into banishment, very often to poison him by the way ; all this is in the Capidgi Bachi's province ; these are perquisites of his office. The Salachors, (ushers) are employed in the same duty in cases of inferior resort, and their advancement depends on their making use of more or less address in the execution of their orders.

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of the Divan of Bagdad, to strike off the Pacha's head, waited on him. The Governor on his side, attentive to all the emissaries of Constantinople, and knowing the successors of the Greek empire well enough to fear them and their presents *, made the Capidgi be searched before he was introduced to the Divan; and finding the secret order, commanded the bearer's head to be cut off, and sent it as his only answer to the Grand Signior. Similar attempts were attended with the same success, and these examples, imitated by other Pachas not so rich nor so remote as that of Bagdad, encouraged resistance, and reduced the Porte to the last resource, of assassinating or poisoning such of its officers as it was disposed to punish. In this case the emissary, disguised as much as possible, and furnished with an order which he keeps closely hid, endeavours to approach the proscribed person; chooses, if he can, the time of the assembling of the Divan,

* Timeunt Danaos et dona fecentes.

seizes

seizes the favourable moment of killing his man, presents his order, and runs no further risk if he is skilful enough not to miss his stroke. This is what may be called signal justice ; but poison requires less courage, and on that account begins to have the preference.

Such of the Pachas, or other oppressors, as by a customary retribution of a part of their rapine, know how to satiate the rapaciousness of the sublime Porte, enjoy the portion they reserve in a sort of security ; but they can preserve their fortunes after their death only by intrusting it to the person who manages their affairs, or to some friend on whose probity they think they can rely. These confidential trusts, however, expose their possessors to very terrible dangers ; and the fear of losing their lives, or at least their own fortunes, often tempts to infidelity. To these motives may perhaps be added, the so natural temptation of appropriating to themselves the effects of the deceased, in a country where
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the words honour and honesty are scarcely known.

One may form a correct judgment of the proceedings of the Turkish government respecting successions, from the manner in which the Exchequer settled its accounts with the persons employed by Racub Pacha, who had long since married a sister of the Grand Signior.

That Visir, celebrated for his activity of mind, the atrociousness of his character, and the subtlety of his spirit, died in office, and in possession of a degree of favour which left no reasonable cause of uneasiness to those who transacted his affairs; but his fortune rendered them accountable, and the exaggerated calculations of Sultan Mustapha might prove them defaulters. The seal, however, was put in his Highness's name, who reserved to himself the inquiry into the succession.

A Turk, who had filled the office of Treasurer to the late Grand Visir, was arrested the instant the seal was placed, as well as an Armenian, who had always been
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that Minister's banker ; these two unfortunate men, chained in the prisons of the Seraglio, suffered every moment the terror of that death with which it pleased their keepers to inspire them. They were obliged to pay for their food its weight in gold ; and the smallest accommodations, the most trifling comforts were sold to them at the most exorbitant prices. At length they gave in their accounts, and the examination which the Grand Signior took the pains to make himself, only served to evince their innocence ; but rapaciousness, deceived by this inquiry, had recourse to tortures to obtain the avowal of a supposed secret trust which never had existed.

The Bostandgy Bachi was charged with this horrible persecution ; the most scandalous calumnies of informers were listened to ; enormous sums were supposed to have passed secretly through their hands, and the most cruel torture was employed, in vain, as to the discovery of any thing, but with great effect for the avarice of the Prince

Prince, who swallowed up the greatest part of the riches which the Armenian derived from his father's commerce. The Treasurer underwent the same fate, and was compelled to purchase his life at the price of his whole fortune, after having suffered the most dreadful torments.

Such is the justice exercised by the despot, *legally* no doubt, since there is no law to counteract these barbarities, and the habit of submitting to them stifles even complaint.

Here let us examine the kind of justice administered by the Turkish tribunals, from a written code, respected by opinion, and commented on by magistrates appointed for that purpose. And you, who justly offended at the inconveniences and multiplicity of our judiciary forms, have ventured to assert, certainly without reflection, that Turkish justice was preferable to ours, examine attentively the picture I am about to offer to you; and if you are able, try to point out some remedy for that superfluity which is so injurious to us; correct

our intemperance, but never make a boast to us of poverty.

The Grand Signior is at once the successor to the Caliphate, and the chief of the military government; his despotism is founded on the Coran, and the exposition of that book is exclusively allotted to the body of Ulemats; every thing must bend before that law; every thing must be obedient to the Sovereign. These two powers derive from the same source, and one already perceives the clashing and differences which must arise between two powers possessed of equal right, but whose interests are at war; one sees, also, that the power of mutually injuring each other must frequently unite, and compel them to reciprocal attentions and compliance.

If the Ulemats, in fact, can interpret the law at their pleasure, and animate the people against the Sovereign, he can, with one word, depose the Mufti, send him into exile, and even destroy him, as well as all those of his body who may incur his displeasure. The law and the despot ought
equally

equally to fear and respect each other; but the despot, if he be not an ideot, necessarily inclines the ballance; he disposes of all the treasure, of all the employments, and of the lives of all his subjects. He has terrible means of enforcing obedience.

Now let us inquire into the use of power, whether on the part of the Grand Signior, or of the Judges.

The more extensive the power of the Grand Signior, the more difficult is it to limit the power of those officers who represent him. The Pachas throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman empire, are the governors and the renters of their Pacholicks; they appoint sub-governors and under-renters in every district; these again distribute other under-renters, to the full as tyrannical; so that in this cruel hierarchy, each subaltern receives the double of the sum for which he stands accountable.

If the renter can exercise his right over the annual revenue in so destructive a manner, the governor of each province, armed with a more extensive and more formi-

dable power, demolishes with more unlicensed boldness and facility. It rests with him to multiply the persecutions, the extortions, and depredations, which are bounded only by his rapacious desires. The slightest pretext is sufficient to summon to his tribunal, such as he is pleased to call to account; and the rich, at the feet of the insatiable man, is never innocent.

The Sovereign, however, apparently a silent spectator of these transactions, delays the punishment of the oppressor only until the produce of the oppression be sufficient to merit a place in his private treasury; but although the Grand Signior seems only to watch the man in office, in vain would the rich man attempt to escape from despotism by concealing himself in obscurity; he is very soon invested with an employment, which, sooner or later, furnishes the Prince with the right of calling him to account. This man has no other resource, therefore, than by making others account to him in the same manner, and by converting the fruit of his rapine into ready money,

money, the more easily to conceal it. We have already seen that the men of the law are the only persons who can enjoy their fortune in tranquility, and I shall not speak of the Christian subjects, or the Jews. These, despised and insulted even by the Mussulman porter who serves them, are only respected by the government because their industry accumulates those riches of which daily oppression produce a reflux through the channel of men in place, into that gulph where every thing is swallowed up by the Sovereign.

From the accounts of Europeans one may be led to believe, that the Turkish Custom-house is not so rigorous as that of other nations. The Franks, it is true, pay only three per cent. I will not bring to account the extortions they suffer besides of every kind; they are foreigners; their situation has no connection with the inquiry into the manners and government of the native inhabitants. These latter pay seven per cent. Custom-house duty, and ten on many articles of consumption; by

affected clemency also, of which they make a great boast, this duty is allowed to be paid in kind ; but what is the consequence? That on a hundred turbots which a fisherman brings to market, they take ten of the finest, which alone are worth all the little fry they leave him.

Let us now consult their books of law, and see how they contrive to interpret them in their tribunals.

Every judgment ought to be founded on the deposition of witnesses. This is the first law of the Arabian legislator. The plaintiff and the defendant, therefore, cannot appear in court without being provided alike with witnesses ; there is no trial therefore without false witnesses. The art of the Judge consists in discovering, by insidious interrogation, to which of the parties he ought to assign the preference of allegation ; and this primary judgment decides the process. If one party denies, the other is intitled to prove ; so that, brought into a law suit by a man whom I have never seen, for the payment of a sum I
never

never owed, I shall be obliged to pay him on the testimony of two Turkish witnesses who will swear to the debt.—What means of defence are left me? Only to admit that I owed the money, or to insist that I have paid it. If the Cady be not already bought off, he will adjudge me witnesses, whom I shall very soon find, and it will cost me only a trifle for the persons who will perjure themselves for me, and the duty of ten per cent. to the Judge who will give me my cause.

He who gains, always pays the expences; the apprehension, therefore, of losing the money one has, does not check the desire of possessing oneself of that of others; and the punishment prescribed for the suborners of false witnesses, and for false witnesses themselves §, must seldom be inflicted: the Judge whose revenue they increase, owes them some indulgence.

§ The punishment of perjury is to lead them through the streets on an ass, with the culprit's head towards the tail of the animal; but I never saw that law carried into execution.

A Turk wanted to rob his neighbour of a field of which he was the legal possessor. This Turk begins by making himself sure of a sufficient number of witnesses ready to swear that the field had been sold to him by the proprietor; he then applied to the Judge, and gave him 500 piasters to get him to authorize his usurpation. This step, which proved sufficiently the iniquity of his demand, incensed the Cady; he dissembled, however, heard both parties, and finding that the lawful possessor would oppose only the ineffectual defence of his title of possession;—"You have no witnesses then?" said he to him; "Well, well! I have *five hundred* who depose in your favour!" He then produced the bag, which was the intended price of his corruption, and sent off the corruptor.

This instance, which does honour to the integrity of the Judge, does not undoubtedly do much honour to the law itself. That is always the same, and every Cady does not resemble this.

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In complicated causes, besides witnesses, the parties have the precaution to obtain a fetfa of the Mufti; but these, as I have already observed, being given only by the head of the law from the state of the case laid before him, each party obtains a favourable one without any difficulty.

The affair, however, is not terminated by a formal judgment pronounced in your favour. The only certainty is the expences: if the adversary starts a new incident, the process must be renewed, and fresh expences incurred.

The right given by the Turkish civil law to every individual of pleading his own cause, would be undoubtedly a most inestimable privilege; but what advantage can he derive from it in a country where the decision is arbitrary? Hence it is that the Jews, the Armenians, and the Greeks, have preserved to their chiefs a sort of civil jurisdiction, to which they sometimes submit, to prevent the object of the law suit from being consumed by the Cady who is to judge it; but excepting the Jews, who
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are more subordinate to their Kakam than the Christians to their Patriarch, it is common enough for the party aggrieved to summon the other to the Turkish Courts, which finish the matter by enriching themselves with the spoils of both.

The law respecting slaves, submits them entirely to their purchaser, calls upon him to treat them well, or to sell them if they do not please him; and their testimony is inadmissible either for or against their masters.

A Greek, of the name of Draco, extremely rich, had two handsome country-houses near the village of Terapia, on the channel of the Black Sea, at three leagues distance from Constantinople, where he passed the summer with his whole family, and several Christian slaves who waited on him. In his neighbourhood was a dock-yard: one of the Turkish ship-builders availed himself of the opportunity to intrigue with one of the Christian slaves.—Draco surprized, and ill-treated her; and to revenge herself, she set fire to two houses,

ses, which were totally consumed. After this act of wickedness, she had the daring-ness to boast of it; and Draco, justly dreading the further effects of this wicked wretch's fury, had her carried off by night, and conducted to a Jew's house, with orders to shut her closely up, and to sell her as soon as possible, so as that she never might return. She found means, however, to cry out of the window that she was a Turk. The populace assemble, the guard arrives, the Jew's house is forced open, and the girl is led before the Visir; there she again declares herself to be a Turk, detained by Draco as a slave, and ill-treated by him to compel her to become a Christian; and that she had set fire to his houses to save a female Mussulman. Her zeal was highly extolled, thanks were returned to Providence, and Draco was hanged two days after the fire, before his own houses, still smoking from the conflagration.

It will be asked, no doubt, what was become of the law which refuses to admit the testimony of slaves against their masters,
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that which condemns an incendiary to the flames, and the other which allows the accused to plead his own cause? Nothing of all this was thought of: a Christian does not merit such attention in Turkey.

After having seen the innocent perish, let us now see in what manner the law treats the guilty. It is not to be repeated without horror; but it is for these monsters that the law has some respect. The law which condemns a murderer to death, permits the nearest relation of the deceased to grant his pardon. The criminal is conducted to the place where the crime was committed; the person who does the office of executioner, performs also that of mediator! he negotiates even to the last moment with the nearest of kin to the deceased, or with his wife, who usually follows, and assists at the execution. Should the proposals be refused, the executioner does his duty; if they are accepted, he leads back the criminal to the tribunal, to receive his discharge. These compositions, however, seldom take place, from a sort
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of opprobrium attached to the idea of selling the blood of one's relations, or one's husband ; but we must be sensible that if such a law existed amongst us, we should sometimes see the most cowardly and most execrable assassins enjoy in peace the fruit of their enormities.

A young Turk, anxious to inherit his property, had murdered his father, and was condemned, on the strongest evidence, to lose his head. One of his friends, a companion of his debaucheries, flies to the Judge with a considerable sum of money ; there he learns that the sentence is already pronounced : still he is not discouraged ; he presses the Judge, already gained by the sight of the money :—"I cannot," said he to his client, "acquit your friend, without a proof of his innocence stronger than that on which he was convicted.—Have the courage to declare yourself the murderer of his father ; produce two witnesses to prove it ; I shall condemn you to the same punishment which has been pronounced against your friend ; from that moment

moment he will be restored to all his rights, and it will rest with him to grant your pardon." The undertaking was undoubtedly hazardous: a parricide is not calculated to inspire much confidence. The criminal, however, pardoned the supposed murderer; and this atrocious transaction, sanctified by the law, had the most complete success.

To punish even highway robbers, it is necessary to apprehend them in the fact. The legislator of the Arabs owed this indulgence, no doubt, to a nation which existed only by rapine. The Grand Signior's territories are infested therefore with those robbers, who are called *haidouts*, where they commit the greatest horrors; and the few efforts made by the government to check them, and which are always made in the most awkward manner, only serves to disperse and drive them from the capital.

If they commit some murders in a village, the Cady, who repairs to the place, extorts a sum of money from the inhabitants,

tants, without taking the trouble of searching after the offenders. On this account the first care of the inhabitants is always to keep the crime from the knowledge of the Judges, whose presence is more formidable than that of the robbers.

The latter are in Turkey like unprivileged workmen in our towns. They are punished if caught at work; they quit their trade on becoming rich, talk over their exploits, and arrive at employments which give them the right of exercising their industry.

The tenet of the Coran enjoining submission to the decrees of Providence, does not appear very well adapted to a criminal code. A Turk, however, having killed a Christian, by a violent blow of a stick on his skull, the Judge, after making them produce the murderer's weapon, and well, and duly examined the quality of the wood of which it was made, pronounced that it was too light to have produced the Christian's death without the direct will of Providence, which it did not become human beings

beings to oppose. It would not be very easy to turn to that chapter of the Coran from whence this sentence was extracted; but it appears indubitable, that if the Christian had committed the murder in question on the Turk, the Judge would never have imagined that he was executing the decrees of God.

Besides the law-suits which follow the usual judicial forms of informations, verification of titles, and appeals to the superior courts, all private quarrels, and charges in the first heat of passion, immediately referred to the tribunal, on the requisition of one party, which the other must not hesitate to accept, particularly if the quarrel has taken place before the people. At the sole word, justice, one sees the multitude invariably taking a part against him who avoids it: the name of justice is sacred in all nations. It is the central point of the human mind. One may form erroneous notions of it, one may labour to deceive others, and may even impose upon oneself respecting it; still justice reigns imper-

imperceptibly, and vice, as well as virtue, is constrained to do her homage.

Each quarter has its Mekkemé *, where a Cady, attended by his Naib †, sits every hour of the day, to hear complaints, and to distribute justice with the more expedition, as the expences are always paid after the sentence.

The justice exercised by the Stambol Effendisy § respecting every thing which concerns the supply of the capital, appears more disinterested, but has only a more noble and more majestic appearance. He fixes the price of articles, causes it to be published, and examines into the integrity of the weights and measures, either personally, or by a deputy, called Murtafib. Preceded by four Janissaries in their formalities, and with staves in their hands,

* Mekkeme; a tribunal of justice.

† Naib; the Judge's first clerk.

§ Stambol Effendisy, the Lieutenant of Police of Constantinople; it is the first step by which the men of the law aspire to the great offices, which, as well as this, are all in the Grand Signior's nomination, without regard to seniority of rank.

this officer goes through the city on horseback, one of his people carrying by his side a pair of open scales ; another carrying weights ; a third a hammer ; and the rest of the cavalcade are armed with sticks, and other weapons necessary to punish offenders.

This groupe is always preceded by some persons in disguise, who take a loaf secretly from a shop, or the weights and scales of a dealer in fruit, or other articles, and every thing which may convict the delinquents of a fraud.

The bread carried to the magistrate is placed in the scale opposite to its just weight, whilst the baker, already seized, and in the presence of his Judge, awaits the decree which is to pronounce him innocent, to order him the bastinado, or even to inflict a little severer punishment upon him, such as having his ears nailed to his shop ; or, in short, hanging him, if the Judge happens to be out of humour. But it is still more remarkable that the real baker, the proprietor of the oven, the fellow

low whose knavery is punished, has nothing to do in the affair ; he enjoys quietly at his house the daily produce of the false weights which are condemned, and leaves one of his journeymen, the chief manager of his oven, to all the danger, and all the inconveniences of his malversation. The latter, for double wages, undertakes to personate his master, and this advantageous situation is solicited by the second journeyman after the first is hanged : nobody is discouraged. It must however be owned, that these punishments are by no means so frequent, as they are frequently merited.

The composition paid by the master bakers to the Stambol Effendissy is considerable ; and if this magistrate is obliged to prevent great abuses, and palpable frauds, he has a very material interest likewise in overlooking many impositions in this trade, to obtain the tribute which they pay him ; but he has no regard whatever for the small dealers, who go about the streets ; their weights and scales are seized and broken in pieces with a hammer for the slight-

est deficiency, and this ceremony is usually terminated by the bastinado, unless these unfortunate people know how to extricate themselves after the Turkish manner.—The most dexterous accommodate the matter, even before it comes within the cognizance of the Judge, and buy themselves off at a cheaper rate from the guards in disguise, by whom they have been apprehended, and who in their turn, convert their little employment too to profit.

Besides these precautions for ascertaining fairness in the sale of provisions, the government fixes their price; but one pays, notwithstanding, the full value for every thing. Under despotism the multitude is daily duped. The people do not expect a comfortable living; they are not accustomed to that state, but they are sometimes seized with fits of grief and despair. On these occasions they assume the tone and character of their superiors; they will be obeyed, and imagine they are so, when, to remedy the complaints extorted from them by the dearness of living, the Visir orders

orders provisions to be sold at a lower price, and that going out *incognito* during the publication of this law, the Minister makes them hang up a baker's boy; nobody inquires into the justice of the pretext, the miserable wretch is sacrificed; but every body finds the bread a great deal better.

How can so sovereign a contempt for human nature amongst the 'Turks consist with that whimsical beneficence they display towards certain animals the most useless to society? Barbarity itself, no doubt, stands in need of some relaxation; whilst it crushes mankind under the weight of its iron sceptre, it condescends to smile on objects whose insignificance give no occasion for alarm; and the pride of the despot blending all beings together in one common contempt, selects its favourites from amongst the weakest.

It is doubtless on this principle that the government, whilst it exercises the most rigorous monopoly of corn for the consumption of the capital, by an extraction ruinous to the husbandman, and a distribution

bution less burthenfome to the baker than to the confumer, grants fo much per cent. in favour of the turtle doves. A cloud of thefe birds continually fall upon the loaded boats which traverse the harbour of Conftantinople, and carry the corn, uncovered, either to the ftore-houfes, or the mills, without the boatmen attempting to put a ftop to their voracioufnefs. The eafe with which they are permitted to glean the corn, attracts them in fuch flocks, that I have feen them perched on the rowers fhoulders, waiting in their turns for a vacant place to fill their crops.

It is from very fhallow obfervations alfo that travellers have extolled the charity of the Turks towards other animals.

There is in Conftantinople a great number of dogs of the fame kind as the shepherd's dog, that is to fay, with fox's ears and muzzles. Thefe animals, difperfed through every quarter of the town, feem to have the fame origin; but they belong to no particular mafters, and the dogs of each diftrict make a common caufe againft fuch

such marauders as encroach upon their limits. It is easy, from their haggard looks, their feeble and languid steps, as well as their excessive lankness, to distinguish such of them as not having been born in the quarter of the shambles, are reduced to live on the excrement thrown into the streets, and for which they are fortunately indebted to the bad administration of the police. The prodigality of the children, whom they are very assiduous in caressing, procures them also some resource. The females of this needy class, sometimes obtain the end of a mat, between two posts, to suckle their young on; but notwithstanding these trifling succours, all those at a distance from the town shambles, do very little honour to the Turkish charity. Always miserable, always more or less consumptive, and often lame, they seem to offer a standing reproach to those travellers who have celebrated the charms and comforts of their existence*.

Travellers

* In this description we see nothing like that race of dogs we call Turkish dogs, which are no more

Travellers have likewise celebrated as a good work the Turkish custom of feeding their cats with sheeps livers, said to be distributed to those animals by pious persons, who devote themselves to this holy action. This would not, in fact, be either more foolish, or more singular, than the story of the doves ; but one fact does not prove the other, and every thing connected with manners, merits a circumstantial and well digested discussion.

The Turks, as well as the Jews, have their prohibited food ; their law obliges them to bleed and wash what they eat ; it prohibits them also the use of certain parts of the animal, such as the liver, the lungs, &c. The butchers must provide, therefore, for the sale of such articles as suit only the Christians.

Dgiherdgis, (sellers of liver) carrying a long stick on their shoulders on which hang their goods, announce them for sale

known in Turkey than our Turkish beds, Turkish robes, and the rest of those novelties on which we are pleased to bestow that name.

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by bawling out ; but never bestow them gratis. The quantity of sheep daily slaughtered in an immense city, where less beef is eaten, which the Turks are not so fond of, necessarily multiplies these sellers of liver, who daily take their rounds to dispose of them in wholesale to the Christians, who eat them, and in retail to the old women, who in every country are fond of cats, without being more charitable towards them ; but idleness, which is constantly searching after amusement, furnishes these Dgiherdgis with another very abundant sale.

The manner of existence of a Turk, who is so much at his ease as to have nothing to do, is to go every day from his own house, seat himself in preference in a shop where smoaking tobacco is sold. There, under pretence of trying to find some new quality in that article, he smokes several pipes without paying, and enjoys over and above, the view of the passengers, who, on their part, amuse themselves with the indolent gravity of the Turks, and the respectful appearance

pearance of two or three footmen, who stand by his side with their hands crossed on their waists. In this position, the first liver feller who passes, stops, and boasts his talent of assembling all the cats of the district, says a few good things to divert his excellency, and obtains permission to begin his operations. The passengers stop, the cats assemble in the twinkling of an eye, at the watch word; the dealer's shoulders are covered with them, and they hang to his cloaths: he quickly furnishes his troublesome guests with a repast; the consequential gentleman who is amused by this scene, pays the fellow; and the European, either ignorant of the language, or little acquainted with it, and who does not live enough amongst the Turks to study their genius, and their manners, thinks he has seen an act of charity, publishes it as such without further inquiry, and thus gives sanction to an error.

Mankind stand so much in need of mutual assistance, that the social virtues ought undoubtedly to be more familiar to them than

than they generally are. These virtues seem to offer a natural remedy against those misfortunes and necessities which are common to us all ; and, from this consideration, ought to be practised with more zeal and efficacy amongst an oppressed people ; but despotism destroys every sentiment of humanity and commiseration in the victims whom it hourly sacrifices : destitute itself of those feelings, it only inspires men, groaning under the weight of its oppression, with the desire of becoming oppressors. Tyranny owes all its slaves to the desire of tyrannizing over others ; and persecution is so natural in Turkey, that there actually exists a formal compact in the country, a mutual agreement not to hurt each other.

A Turk who had been Couchedchy-Bachi *, under the reign of the three favourites of Sultan Mahomout, whom he was obliged to sacrifice, and of whom I

* Couchedghy-Bachi ; the Lieutenant of the Bostandgy Bachi.

have

have already spoken at the beginning of these Memoirs, was very intimate with my father-in-law. The government still made use of his understanding and his talents in their secret inquiries. Business of this nature had brought him to Pera †. He was desirous of becoming acquainted with me; and seeming to regret that his affairs did not permit him to make a longer stay, he took leave, promising to return in a short time. Already I had conducted him half way down stairs, when stopping suddenly, and turning round short to one of my people, "Bring me quickly," says he, "some bread and salt." I was as much surprized at this whimsical request, as at the earnestness with which the servant flew to satisfy him. What he asked for is brought him;

† Pera, a suburb where the Ambassadors, and almost all the foreign merchants reside, except the French, who in general live together at Galata. But it must not be imagined that these two quarters are appropriated exclusively to the Europeans. The Turks, the Greeks, the Jews, and the Armenians, who inhabit them, amount to more than fifty thousand souls, to whom are joined two or three hundred real or pretended Europeans.

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he takes a little salt between his finger and thumb, with a mysterious air, and puts it on his bread, which he eats with a religious gravity, and takes his leave, assuring me that thenceforward I might depend upon him. I obtained an explanation of every thing important and significant in this ceremony †. We shall see, however, that this very man, becoming Visir, under the name of Moldovandgi Pacha, was at least tempted to violate his oath with respect to me. However that may be, if this sort of oath be not always religiously observed, it serves pretty often as a check to moderate that spirit of revenge to which the Turks are so naturally addicted. Their rage seldom shews itself in the first heat of passion; they never fight duels; but they assassinate; and it is thus they decide all quarrels which never can be reconciled. The person offended publicly whets his knife, or prepares his fire-arms; some friends

† The Turks hold it to be the highest ingratitude to forget those who have given them food, which is represented by the bread and salt in this ceremony.

strive to appease him, whilst others excite and encourage him to the murder; but no measures are used tending to prevent the crime which these preparatives proclaim. Drunkenness, however, must precede it. The Turk is obliged to find in wine, the degree of courage necessary to supply his anger. Arrived at this pitch, he leaves the tavern, and there is no longer any safety for the offender, except in the want of skill of the offended person. If the murder be committed, and the guard, who are armed only with sticks §, pursue the assassin, it is then that he exhibits real proofs of cou-

§ The patrols who go through the city to preserve order, and for the public safety, are only armed with sticks, in the shape of little clubs, the thick end of which is dipped in rosin. When a criminal avails himself of his activity to escape, he is soon overturned by the address of the guards, who throw their sticks at his legs. One very often sees people thrown down in this manner, who are no otherwise culpable than by going too quick about their business. It is a little amusement by which the guards exercise their talent for laying hold of criminals; but when these latter have fire arms, the guards are more careful to avoid meeting, than ardent in the pursuit of them.

rage ;

rage; he defends himself like a lion; one would imagine that the crime had elevated his soul; and if he at length submits, the threats of his associates very soon bring the relations of the deceased to a composition, which leaves the guilty in possession of that high esteem which this event insures him *.

It is only a few hired Turks, some Christians, or Jews, who furnish examples of public punishment for the murders they may commit. In this case the criminal, conducted to the Porte, there receives his sentence. No apparatus accompanies his execution; and I have met some of them passing through the croud, with which the streets are filled; conversing with the men who were to be their executioners. The criminal only has his hands tied, and the executioner holds him by the

* There is no exaggeration in this; they never say, but as an eulogium, such a one has killed such another: he who has killed ten, is the hero of his quarter; no entertainment without him; his friendship is a safeguard.

waist

waist. This is the moment to negotiate with the relations of the deceased, and to attempt the accommodation I have mentioned. I have been assured by some persons, that bargains of this kind sometimes fail from the avarice of the criminal. The fact appears highly improbable ; but supposing it to be true, it must arise, no doubt, from this circumstance, that under a despotic government riches are every thing, and life of very little value.

The habit of despising the Christians, and of honouring the Turks, has established the custom of placing the criminal's head, if he be a true believer, on his arm, which is bent for the purpose ; and that of an infidel on his posteriors.

Nothing would be wanting to complete the barbarity of the Turks, but to imitate the custom in France, of extending the punishment of a personal crime, so as to cover with the infamy of his execution, those innocent persons who have the misfortune to be related to the guilty. In Turkey, on the contrary, they inscribe

on his grave stone the name of the deceased, and the nature of his punishment; and I knew an European who was very ill received on this account, by a Greek woman of distinction, whose husband had been just hanged for a court broil. He thought it necessary to condole with her on this event, and dwelt particularly on the nature of the punishment. "How do you think he ought to have died then?" exclaimed the woman in a rage; "Let me tell you, Sir, that nobody in my family has died like a Raccal †." The European, astonished, withdrew, wishing all her relations an happy exit. This prejudice, so very different from ours, is again explained by despotism. To be punished for a state crime, implies that the criminal must have been of some importance to the state. Men submit to a state of dependance only in the hopes of commanding in their turn; this

† Raccal, a grocer; they usually die in their beds; this is the profession which they have the custom of contemptuously opposing to the most distinguished situations.

is the origin of slavery ; it feeds the vanity of the slave, and is the only sentiment of honour which can exist under despotism.

Although we have already seen that drunkenness hurries on the Turks to crimes, and gives them the force necessary to commit them, and although wine be prohibited by the law, the taverns at Constantinople are as public, and as numerous as public houses in our towns ; the government makes them pay, and protects them. Such of the Turks as frequent them, regularly get drunk ; and the consumption becoming a revenue of the Exchequer, is farmed out to an Intendant, called Charab Eminy †. This officer receives the duties of entry ; but the police of the taverns, as well as the fees they make them pay, belong to the first magistrate, and to the particular governors of the respective quarters.

† Charab Eminy, Intendant of the Wine ; an employment never given by the government but to a Turk ; he is the renter of that part of the grants, and collects the duties either in the quality of farm or direction.

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I have said, that in the solemn feasts, the taverns are shut to avoid, during that period, the fatal effects of the habitual debauchery of the people. The police puts a seal on the door of every tavern; but a wicket contrived below, which the police pretends not to see, always leaves a free and public entry; it costs no more than a slight stoop of the body to evade the law, and get drunk at pleasure.

The three days of bairam, however, excite a sort of anxiety on the part of government to prevent the disorders which drunkenness might occasion. The Ramazan which precedes these holidays, is the Lunar month destined to a fast, and its epocha is advanced annually eleven days. This time of abstinence, copied by Mahomet from the Christian fasts, consists among the Turks, as it formerly did in the primitive church, in taking no nourishment whilst the Sun is on the horizon. It is evident that the part of the Lunar revolution, which brings the Ramazan towards the winter solstice, makes it less insupportable

than that which places it in the summer solstice, from the length of the days and the excessive heat which prevails during the time of abstinence; but the working class appear alone to suffer all the rigour of the Ramazan; deprived, during the day, of a glass of water to quench the thirst, or refresh the mouth, the setting sun presents them only with a frugal repast, with a little repose from fatigue, which is again interrupted by prayers, and the necessity of eating before sunrise.

The Ramazan offers a very different picture amongst people of opulence. It is effeminacy, sleeping in the arms of hypocrisy, and which only awakens to resign itself to the pleasures of good cheer, music, and of every thing which can compensate to sensuality for the pain of abstinence.

Submissive to the revolution of a period prescribed by the laws, and always impatient for its expiration, a Turk, during the Ramazan, is never tired of counting the hours or the minutes; he encompasses himself with all the watches and all the clocks he

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is master of, and this is the period in which Geneva collects the principal part of the tribute her industry imposes on the Turks. This lucrative commerce would become infinitely more so, if, by a double quadrature so disposed as to shorten the spiral of the ballance, or gradually to raise the point of suspension of the pendulum, they could advance the movement of the hands, and retard them by inverting the same operation, relatively to the setting of the sun, which the Turks always state at twelve hours ; in this case I would engage, that sensible only to this diurnal result, they would not perceive that the quickness or slowness of the vibrations, by dividing the difference, would alter the duration of each particular hour.

The most regular watch in the world, however, would not be sufficient to determine the moment of finishing the fast ; the cryers of the Mosques, placed in the galleries of the minarets, observe from thence the setting of the sun, and the first signal must be given from that of Saint Sophia, by

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chaunting the invitation to prayers, which the other muezzins repeat from their minarets. At this period the impatience of the Turks, the most devout of whom always begin by ablution, leads generally to the luxury of smoking, which is the first of their wants.

But if the Turks wait until the sun disappears, to allow themselves some nourishment, they are not less attentive to ascertain minutely the beginning of the new moon, to enter into the Ramazan ; and in general, it is only to begin this fast that they place a full and unlimited confidence in astronomical calculations. It is remarked, in fact, that this moon, dedicated to abstinence, usually lasts no longer than eight and twenty days ; and that the persons appointed to observe this planet, and to make a formal declaration of it to the Porte, are always rather late in observing the first gleam of light which marks its renewal ; but in return they are much less scrupulous in asserting the appearance of the following moon, which commences the Bairam, and

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is announced to the public by discharges of artillery.

The festival, however, which succeeds the term of abstinence amongst the Turks, cannot be compared with the solemnity which follows the Christian Lent ; and one only discovers a sort of imitation of the Paschal Lamb, in the *Courbam Bairam*, the Bairam of the Sacrifice. This second Paschal feast does not take place until six weeks after the former. The Grand Signior, all the great men, and every body who can afford it, kill one or more sheep on that day. A proportionable number of these animals are particularly taken care of for that purpose, and have their wool combed and their horns gilt, and the moment of sacrificing these offerings must be calculated for the very instant when the same sacrifice takes place at Mecca.

The epocha of the Bairam is also that of the greatest luxuries ; every body purchases, or gives, or receives new cloaths. It is the time, too, for parties of pleasure of every kind, which always produce some

irregularities and disagreeable circumstances on the part of the walkers out, who disperse themselves through the different villages for three or four leagues round Constantinople, and where the Turks, newly clad, *thoroughly absolved*, and always well armed, think they may perpetrate every thing with impunity, and exact what they think proper from the unhappy Greeks who vegetate in those villages.

The aqueducts which convey water to Constantinople, are often the object of the Turkish walks ; but we may suppose that it is neither to admire the architecture of these buildings, nor to judge of the salubrity of the water, that the curious flock there in crouds. They take great pains to carry wine and other things there to regale themselves ; they take possession of the ruined kiosks built by the Emperors at the same time with the edifices destined to collect the rain water, and convey it to the capital.

The aqueducts which the Turks have been compelled to substitute for the ancient cisterns,

cisterns, are so badly constructed, that a comparison between them and the aqueduct of the Greeks, must give an advantageous idea of the latter.

The edifice, built in the time of Justinian, offers nothing interesting either in point of boldness, or lightness of architecture. The good taste of the architect is still less conspicuous; he seems only to have studied to deceive the eye in the form of the pillars, by giving them the appearance of solid masses in the air, whilst those inverted cones form reliefs, which project too much at their basis. A mixture of large Gothic arches, and of small circular ones, are neither bolder nor more agreeable to the eye; and I have only looked upon this structure as interesting, in as far as it may serve to fix the period at which good taste in architecture began to decline amongst the Greeks.

The aqueducts of the Turks are of a more determinate kind; no proportion in the plan, no choice in the materials, no skill or neatness in their distribution; one is

is astonished at the immensity of the work; —one is out of patience at its imperfection; every thing announces ignorance set in motion by force, and kept in pay by avarice.

These faults are less striking in the Mosques built by the Turkish Emperors at Constantinople, because all these edifices, built under the eye of the Sultans, and after the model of Saint Sophia, are more or less ornamented, and always well taken care of, from motives of fear and vanity, by the Greeks or Armenians, who are the undertakers of them. There are even some Mosques *, which, built on the plan of that ancient Greek church, have surpassed their model; but the model is very far from being a master-piece; and one would presume, that a more attentive examination might have prevented travellers from lavishing their praises on the

* The Mosque of Sultan Achmet, and that of Checkzade, are of a more slender construction; and the former ornamented with six Minarets, extends the whole place of the Hyppodromos:

structure

structure of Saint Sophia. Had these travellers been more skilled in architecture, they might have concluded, from the displacing of the pillars alone, that after having œconomised in the original plan, the masses necessary for solidity, they have been unreasonably lavish in the spurs with which the building is at length supported; they might have seen too, by measuring with the eye, the arch of the exterior dome, that the flat roof which serves for cieling, offers only an illusory boldness, and that far from supporting itself, independant of the building, it is suspended by the full centre which covers it. I have been assured even, that this inner dome was built of pumice stone, bound with a very fine cement of paste and lime, which reduces to nothing this pretended wonder. The inside decoration does no greater honour to the age of Constantine †. A great
quan-

† It is pretended, that this edifice, built by Constantine, and destroyed by an earthquake, was rebuilt by Justinian; but I think we should only attribute to this last emperor, the masses of stone by way of spurs erected

quantity of columns set it at different distances, without proportion, the module of which appears to have been mistaken in their height, in their bases, and in their capitals; no order in the entablature, no rule, no taste in the profiles, these surely do not merit so much celebrity. There is nothing in fact to admire in that building, but the richness and abundance of materials, in which one would be tempted to imagine one discovered those precious ruins, which are no longer to be found at Delphi or at Delos.

But the beauty of the Mosaics which adorned the roof of Saint Sophia is indisputable: I have been still able to discover the end of the wings of the four cherubins, which were supported by the cornice, at the spring of the arch of the four pillars. The obstinacy of the Turks in daubing this dome with lime water, leaves

erected on the outside to support the pillars, which had given way in consequence of the earthquake. The effect of these shocks is still apparent from the inclination of the columns, whose basis of bronze do not equally support them.

nothing

nothing to be seen at this day of these Mosaics, and they are daily completing their destruction, by continuing to tear off splinters, which a barbarous curiosity purchases of that ignorance and avidity which as barbarously destroys them.

Some pieces of these Mosaics, split into crystals of three or four cubic lines, being sent to Vienna to be cut, produced stone of different colours of a very fine lustre, and great hardness.

The contempt of the Turks for the most precious work we know of, leaves no doubt of the simplicity of the ornaments which decorate their other Mosques. These ornaments consist in no more than four large tables, on which are written the names of the four disciples of Mahomet; several passages of the Coran are also written in different places, and particularly towards the pulpit, from whence this sacred book is read during the meditation which precedes the prayer. I must add, that the women admitted also into the Mosques, place themselves only in the part destined
to

to their use; and if the Turkish manners had not rendered that separation necessary in other respects, one would pardon their establishing it in their temples, where order and silence ought constantly to remind us, that if the necessities of life have limited and regulated certain intervals in divine worship, we cannot offer too respectful an adoration in the temple consecrated to the Eternal Being.

Vocal music, instead of the noise of bells, announces the hour of prayer, in an Arabic formula, which combines the unity of God, the mission of the Prophet, prayers and good works. The muezzins of each Mosque* mount for that purpose on their minarets. This sort of steeple, which resemble columns, are small hollow towers, of four or five feet diameter; they rise of an equal thickness from the angles of the Mosque, to the height of the domes,

* Muezzins,—Cryers of the Mosque; it is an office which the Iman performs himself in the smaller benefices, but in the great Moques it is a distinct office.

where a projecting gallery of twenty or thirty inches, communicates with a winding stair-case, which leads to it by a little gate, always facing Mecca. The minaret then diminishing about a fourth of its thickness, continues to rise about a fifth or sixth part of its height, and terminates in a pointed cone, covered with lead, and finished in a sort of crescent, the two extremities of which, in a fluted curve, and very near each other, usually encircle the name of God, cut out of the metal. The principal Mosques have several of these minarets, to each of which the galleries are doubled or trebled; but those of Saint Sophia have only one; they are also the least lofty, and the least slender †.

It might be proper, doubtless, in this place, to ascertain the estimation in which the Turks hold the crescent; but I shall have occasion to treat of this matter in speaking of the Grand Signior's artillery;

† These minarets, which were doubtless built soon after the taking of Constantinople, are become disagreeable to the eye, from the lightness and boldness of those which have been since constructed.

and

and I shall confine myself at present to observe, that in rebuilding the Visir's palace, after the fire I have spoken of, the architect made use of fleurs de lys, with four leaves, for the last ornament of the cupola covering the gate which separates the two courts. He substituted this ornament for the crescents which were on the former gate. Observing this little decoration at the Palace of France, he adopted it, and nobody imagined that it had any meaning.

From a refinement of the same nature, but of a very different effect, two antique green columns, placed by way of ornament at the principal gate of the Seraglio, are supported on their capitals. I complained of this to the superintendant of the buildings, who very judiciously observed to me, that the foliage of the capitals, so ingeniously carved, richly merited to be placed within the reach of admiration.

Constantinople, on the side of the sea, furnishes likewise the most painful prospect: one sees there a forest of columns, ranged cross-ways, and on several beds, which

which serve as a foundation for her lofty walls; and the richest ruins, confounded with the vilest materials, present, at every step, the afflicting picture of ignorance and barbarism, confusedly jumbled with the precious remains of the ancient Grecian knowledge.

To finish this painting of the Turks, and to give an idea of their stupid pride, it will be sufficient to cite one of their favourite adages:

Riches in India,
Wit in Europe,
and
Pomp amongst the Ottomans.

The picture of the Grand Signior's procession on the day of Coronation, has given an idea of their so much boasted pomp; but I must allow that there is something brilliant and striking enough in the cavalcade which accompanies the Grand Signior when he goes out upon the sea. The grace, the lightness, the richness of his boats, can be compared with nothing of that kind we have amongst us. His High-

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ness

ness alone has the right of having a tilt covered with scarlet, and crowned with three gilded lanterns, and twenty six rowers; a similar boat which follows for any occasion that may offer, always serves him to return in. The different officers of the Court attend him, each in the boats appropriated to them; and their great number, joined to the precision of the strokes of the oars, and the quickness of the motion, presents the most majestic prospect, and the most agreeable coup d'œil.

When the Grand Signior's son is of age to appear in public, his boat, rowed also by six and twenty rowers, is distinguished by a blue tilt, after which the Visir is the only person who can have a tilt; but it must be green, and his boat must not have more than twenty-four rowers.

The Mufti, exposed in his boat to the intemperance of the air, like the lowest individual, is only distinguished by nine pair of oars, and the privilege of having two men on each bench.

The

The boats of the other great men, whose number of oars is determined also by the importance of their offices, have only one rower on each bench, as well as the foreign Ambassadors, who likewise have no right to carry a tilt.

But the boats of the harem, which carry the Grand Signior's wives, are manned with twenty-four rowers, and have white covered tilts, shut alternately by Venetian blinds; walls of canvass are prepared likewise for their reception, of which a little narrow street is formed, which runs from the gate of the Seraglio to the boats. When they go out to walk, which is very seldom, the rural harem which is prepared for them, is surrounded likewise in the same manner, and they are introduced into it with the same precaution. Black eunuchs surround this inclosure, and *Assequis* *, armed with carbines, form a second line of circum-

* *Bostandgi Assequis*, who perform the office of the *Prevote de L'hotel* in France; they are the grenadiers of the corps of *Bostandgis*.

vallation to defend the approaches. Unfortunate the man, who, ignorant of these dispositions, comes within gun shot ! The stroke of death would be his first warning. It is thus that the wives of the Prince, kept always in a fold like sheep, enjoy the pleasure of breathing the fresh air.

This extraordinary entertainment gives, undoubtedly no very exalted idea of the perpetual joys which reign in the harem of the Grand Signior. One may conceive that the women exist there less agreeably, than in this little park, since it is intended as a party of pleasure. Here is matter enough, no doubt, to reform many mistaken ideas.

Those which I had at first collected of the Turkish government and military were incorrect. One can only judge of men in action; and I reserve those particulars for the events of the last war, which developed them more completely to me. These historical details will bring me back to Constantinople, from whence I set out in

1763,

1763, on my return to France, to acquaint the Ministry that I was losing my time, and the King his money, were I not to be more usefully employed.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

SECOND PART.

On the TURKS and the TARTARS.

MY Father died at Rodosto †, in the arms of Count Tezaky, and in the midst of his countrymen. The Ministry which had intended to have employed me, had just been changed in France. A foreign name, no protection, and eight years absence at Constantinople, nothing, in short, seemed to give me much prospect of success at Versailles. I obtained, however, a promise of employment at one of the German Courts, an employment ill-

† A town situated on the Propontis; set apart by the Grand Signior for the residence of Prince Ragotzi, and all the Hungarian refugees. My deceased father had followed that Prince thither, and left it in the year 1717, to enter into the service of France: the different commissions in which he was employed, gave him frequent opportunities of seeing his former companions, in the midst of whom he died in 1767. Count Tezaky survived him only eight days, and never spoke after his death.

sued

suit to the sort of information I had acquired, and which the Duke of Choiseul was desirous of applying to more purpose, when on his resuming the foreign department, and after a trial of my abilities on a particular commission, he made choice of me to reside with the Kam of the Tartars. My zeal made me overlook all the disagreeable circumstances of such a mission. I had neither solicited, nor desired, nor foreseen it; but I accepted it as a favour, and it was indeed a favour to serve under that Minister.

It was determined that I should go by land to the place of my destination, and every thing being prepared, I left Paris on the 10th of July, 1767, for Vienna, where, after a stay of eight days, I continued my journey to Warsaw, at which place I remained six weeks, and from thence I proceeded to Kominiek.

The difficulties I had undergone in Poland from the scarcity of provisions, the want of horses, and the ill will of the people, prepared me to bear, with patience,

what I still had to undergo before I could arrive at the end of my journey.

There being no post-horses in Poland, after passing Kaminiek, I was fortunate enough to procure Russian horses to carry me to the first Turkish Custom-house, opposite to Swanitz, on the other side of the Niester. The course of that river forms the boundary between the two empires; and some Janissaries who were come to walk on the Polish side of the river, attracted by curiosity near my carriage, taking a liking to me on my addressing them in the Turkish language, accompanied me in the ferry boat, which conveyed us to the other side. Every person in my retinue, except my secretary, imagined we were going to Constantinople. I undeceived them in passing the Niester †. We landed safely on the opposite side of the river, and my Jannissaries, eager to acquaint the Custom-house Officer with my arrival, prepared him to receive me with so much respect, that overcome at length

† This river is also called the Nieper.

by his entreaties, I agreed to pass a bad night at about a league from Kotchim, where I might have met with better accommodations. The Custom-house Officer compelled the Russians, also, who had brought me, to stay with their horses all night, to conduct me the next day to Kotchim. My remonstrances on this head were ineffectual, when opposed to his interest and convenience: He affected, indeed, to have no other motive than respect for me, and to have nothing but my convenience in view; when his only object was, in fact, to save an expence which must otherwise have fallen upon him.

In other respects we could not perceive that we put him to any expence, except from the profusion with which we were served; and the Pacha, whom he had acquainted with my arrival, increased our abundance by a present of flowers and fruit he sent me, with the assurance of being well received, and better treated the next day.

The

The habit of living with the Turks rendered my evening, however, more tolerable than it would have been for any other person. I passed a part of it in the Custom-house officer's kiosk, which was his usual residence ; and where, indolently stretched out on the frontiers of despotism, in the full plenitude of his authority, this Turk exhibiting its genuine picture to the inhabitants of the opposite shore, was intoxicated with the pleasure of seeing nothing so important as himself. He informed me, that two young Frenchmen had arrived a few days before at Kotchim, where, after taking the turban, they had set out for Constantinople. He satisfied, also, my questions respecting the revenues of his Custom-house, which I found were as profitable to him, as they were burthensome to those who had the misfortune to fall into his hands ; and as that was all the information to be got from him, I left him and went to take some rest. The people, however, sent by the Pacha to conduct me to Kotchim, and to receive me there

there with distinction, began to awaken me from a sound sleep at day break. Each of them was eager to acquaint me with the importance of his employment, in order to have a better claim on my generosity. The people of the Custom-house watched, also, the moment of my waking, to come for their share. I rewarded the guards too, who had attended me, and who had been prevented from robbing me, only by the particular attention of my servants. We then set out with a pretty numerous retinue, and I was soon settled in the house of a Jew, prepared for my reception in the suburbs of Kotchim.

An officer and some Janissaries, who were to be my guard, occupied the gateway into which I was introduced by one of the Governor's people, who had orders to procure me, *gratis*, and at the expence of the inhabitants, every necessary. His first care, therefore, was to inquire what I wished to be supplied with. I was shocked at this species of oppression, to which, however, I was no stranger; but I knew
neither

neither the right, nor the resources of the oppressors; I modestly answered that I wanted nothing, and gave secret orders to my own people to purchase the necessary provisions. I could not foresee that this was the very way to aggravate the oppression. A miserable Jew I had employed to make my purchases, and who, in the hopes of cheating me, had overlooked the danger of his undertaking, was seized, bastinadoed, and forced to point out to my zealous purveyor, the people with whom he had been dealing, who escaped, however, by returning the money, and with the loss of their property. My broker disgorged also his profits, and the Turk gave back nothing; but he took special care to order for the evening, and the next day, such a quantity of provisions, that he must afterwards have sold, for his own account, a great part of them, which I could not possibly consume.

Such scenes greatly increased my desire of hastening my arrival in the Crimea; but it was necessary to obtain both the
Pacha's

Pacha's permission, and other assistance which he alone was able to procure me. My first care was to have an interview with him as early as possible; for the Turks are so slow, and so lazy themselves, that the first civility they show to a stranger is to invite him to rest himself, and that was the compliment I received on alighting; but I assured them so positively that nothing fatigued me so much as repose, that I obtained an audience for the next day. The Pacha, who lives in the fortress, sent me horses accordingly, at the hour appointed, and several of his officers to conduct me to him.

The fortress of Kotchim, situated on the rise of the mountain, on the right border of the Niester, hangs towards the river, and lays the place entirely open to the opposite bank. The country of Poland, indeed, presents this citadel with so delightful a prospect, that one would be tempted to imagine that the Turkish engineers sacrificed to that advantage, both the defence and safety of so important a port,

port, in which, as it now is, they would not be able to hold out three days against a regular attack.

The Pacha who commanded there was a venerable old man, with whose character I was in some measure already acquainted. I knew that being naturally of a timid disposition, he feared that the Visir had hostile intentions towards him, and I had reason to apprehend, therefore, that he would not venture to let me pass without an express order from the Porte. He convinced me accordingly, after the first compliments were over, that I was not mistaken, assuring me, however, that he would endeavour to make my stay agreeable; but it was impossible to render any delay agreeable to me. I discussed the matter with him, therefore, and at length persuaded him that he would run more risk by detaining me at Kotchim, than by letting me pass, since he would offend the Tartars, who were expecting me, without paying his court to the Visir, who did not look for me, and the protection of the
Kam,

Kam, which I undertook to promise, overcame his difficulties. My departure was fixed for the next day, and our parting was the more friendly, as I made him understand that my good offices might be of service to him.

His principal Tchoadar, who was to be my Mikmandar †, came to wait on me at my return home. He concerted with me the proper means to be taken, and then left me to get his orders signed, and to prepare the post-horses for our journey. But notwithstanding the alacrity with which they seemed to set to work to collect them, we could not set out until very late the next day, and in spite of the blows bestowed on the unfortunate postillions by my Mikmandar, they went no faster. We might have gone farther that day, however, had not Ali Aga, (that was the name of my Mikmandar) made us stop a league short of the Pruth, to give himself

† An officer appointed to go before Ambassadors, or other persons, who travel by the order, and at the expence of the Porte.

time to prepare for the crossing of that river, for which purpose he brought us to a tolerable good village, the miserable inhabitants of which were obliged to bring us provisions. A family soon turned out of doors, made room for us, and two sheep, killed, roasted, and eaten, and not paid for, added to a few unnecessary blows, began to put me a little out of humour with my guide, who set off in the evening to prepare every thing for the conveyance of my carriage over the Pruth.

I took the opportunity of his absence, to give an old Turk, who appeared to be entrusted with the concerns of the community, the value of the provisions; but some of the inhabitants presently came to complain, that as I had not distributed the shares, they should not receive any part of the recompence I intended making them; "and," added they, "the old Turk to whom you have given all, is supported by four cut-throat sons, who bear no part of our burthens, and yet always take possession of the profits."

These

These poor wretches, whilst they were making these complaints to me, never suspected, certainly, that they had the good fortune of living under an aristocracy. To satisfy them, however, and to fulfil my original intentions, I doubled the sum, and every one retiring to his place of rest, I got into my carriage, where I fell into so sound a sleep, that we were far advanced on our way when I awoke. The Pruth was only at a league's distance, and my conductor, whom we perceived on horseback, flogging up a troop of peasants he was in the midst of, gave us to understand that we were not far from the river, on the borders of which we arrived, without being sensible of its proximity, from the steepness of its banks.

The Pruth separates the Pachalick of Kotchim from Moldavia. Ali-Aga had swam over to the opposite shore the night before, and got together by dint of his whip, near three hundred of the neighbouring Moldavians, and had employed them the whole night in forming with the trunks

of trees an ill-contrived raft, on which he had repassed to our side of the river ; but all that did not satisfy me of its solidity. I prepared myself, however, to sacrifice, if necessary, my carriage, and every thing upon it. I only secured out of it my pocket-book, fully determined not to expose myself to so evident a personal danger ; nor would I suffer my own attendants to go over, but reserved them for a second voyage, in case the first succeeded. Meanwhile, my conductor, proudly exulting at having accomplished so wonderful a work, pressed me to get into my carriage.—“ How,” said I, vexed at his stupidity, “ will you ever contrive to get it down to the river ?—How will you afterwards keep it on your paltry raft, which is scarce large enough for it, and must infallibly sink under its weight ?” “ How ?” said he, “ why, with these two instruments ;” shewing me his whip, and upwards of a hundred sturdy peasants he had brought from the other side : “ Don’t be uneasy ; I would make them bear the universe on their
their

their shoulders. And if the raft sinks, these fellows can all swim; they shall keep it up; if you lose the value of a pin, they shall every one of them be hanged."

So much ignorance and barbarity shocked me, without giving me more confidence in the raft. But my resolution was formed; I told him I would not go over with my attendants till the second trip, and therefore he might do as he thought proper. I sat down on the edge of a cliff, to take a better view of this great manœuvre, and to enjoy at least a scene for which I expected to pay very dearly.

The signal for the workmen to begin was then given, by pronouncing the name of God, followed by several smacks of his whip. They undid the traces of my carriage, and carried it in their arms to the brink of the precipice, where they had formed with their pickaxes a rough sort of shelving, to facilitate its descent; but it was not without shuddering, that I saw them on the point of being crushed by the weight of my coach, which they got down,

however, on the raft, where it could only be diagonally placed, and to keep it steady in that position, four of these wretches were clapped under the wheels, the least motion of which would have carried the whole equipage to the bottom of the river. After this operation, which had made that part of the raft next the land sink into the mud, and had plunged it seven or eight inches deep under water on the other side, they still had to work to get it afloat, which the hundred men at length effected. They then accompanied it, part of them wading, and others swimming, and guided it with long poles to the other side, where some buffaloes were in readiness to draw up my carriage, which I saw in the twinkling of an eye on the top of the opposite cliff. My fears were now at an end, and the raft returning, conveyed us over without a shadow of danger or difficulty.

It is easy to imagine that Ali-Aga triumphed on the occasion, and on setting out, I gave the value of a hundred and fifty livres, (six or seven guineas) to the workmen ;

workmen ; but what is not so easy to imagine, nor could I foresee it, that my conductor, attentive to all my actions, and to every gesture, staid behind, to get his portion of the trifling present I had made these poor creatures.

In an hour afterwards he made his appearance, and immediately went on before to prepare breakfast, at three leagues from the Pruth, where we came up with him, whilst he was collecting provisions with the same instrument with which he had constructed his rafts. Except the too frequent use he made of his whip, Ali-Aga appeared to me to be a good humoured fellow, and I undertook to make him in future less lavish of his blows.

The Baron.

Your dexterity in the passage of the Pruth, and the good cheer you provide for us, my dear Ali-Aga, would be fully satisfactory, did you not beat those poor Moldavians so frequently, or if you only beat them when they disobey you.

Ali-Aga.

What signifies it to them, whether it be before or after, since they must be beaten? Is it not better to do it at once than to lose time?

Baron.

What do you mean by losing time? Do you call that making a good use of it to beat, without reason, a set of poor creatures, whose exertions, strength, and submission, perform wonders?

Ali-Aga.

What, Sir—you talk the Turkish language—you have lived at Constantinople—you know the Greeks; and you do not know that Moldavians will do nothing till you break their bones! You imagine then that your carriage would have crossed the Pruth if I had not beat them all night, and continued this discipline until your arrival on the banks of the river?

Baron.

Yes; I think that the fear alone of being beaten would have made them do all this; but, however that may be, we have

no

no more rivers to pass; the post supplies us with horses, we want nothing but provisions, and that is my affair; for I will own to you, my dear Ali, that such as you procure for me by blows, are hard of digestion; let me pay for them, that is all I desire.

Ali-Aga.

You certainly take the surest way not to have an indigestion; for your money will not even get you bread.

Baron.

Never fear; I'll pay them so well that I shall have the best of every thing, and with more certainty than you could get it yourself.

Ali-Aga.

You will not have bread, I tell you; I know the Moldavians; they require beating; besides, I am ordered to defray your expences every where, and these rascally infidels are rich enough to bear the heaviest charges; this is a trifling one, and provided we beat them, they will be contented.

Baron.

Do not refuse me, I beg of you, my dear Ali-Aga; I do not wish my expences to be defrayed, and I'll answer for it, they do not wish to be beaten, provided we pay them; I take that upon myself—let me do as I think proper.

Ali-Aga.

But we shall die with hunger.

Baron.

At any rate, let us make a trial; it is my fancy.

Ali-Aga.

Since you are determined, I consent: Try your experiment, which appears necessary to give you some idea of the Moldavians; but when you are better acquainted with them, remember that it is not right I should go to bed without my supper; and when your money and your rhetoric have both failed you, you will allow me, I hope, to make use of my method.

Baron.

Be it so; and since we are agreed, I shall, when we arrive at the village where we
sleep

sleep, address myself to the Primate†, in order to treat with him, in a friendly way, for provisions, and a good fire, under some cover, where we may pass the night without having any thing to do with the inhabitants, and be free from the danger of the plague, which has just broke out in Moldavia. “In this case,” said Ali-Aga, “I need not go any farther,” and he immediately ordered one of his people to follow my directions, repeating, with a smile, that “he would not go to bed supperless.”

We did not arrive till after sun-set at the village where we intended to halt; and we discovered our lodgings by a fire they had prepared for us.

My conductor, in order to keep to his engagement with me, went to warm himself on alighting, and sat down with his elbow leaning on his saddle, and his whip in his hand, to enjoy the diversion he ex-

† This title answers to that of Mayor; but his functions differ in the same proportion that slavery differs from liberty.

pected I should afford him. I was no less desirous of procuring my provisions from that spirit which produces a mutual exchange of necessaries. I inquired for the Primate, whom they pointed out to me : I went up to him, and presenting him with twenty crowns, (about two guineas and a half,) which I laid upon the ground, spoke to him first in Turkish, then in Greek, in these terms, faithfully translated :

The Baron. (In Turkish.)

There, my friend, is money to buy the provisions we shall want. I have always loved the Moldavians, and cannot bear they should be ill treated. I hope you'll lose no time in procuring me a sheep §, and some bread ; keep the rest of the money to drink my health.

The Moldavian. (Feigning not to understand Turkish.)

He not understand.

Baron.

What, don't you understand Turkish ?

§ A sheep alive, and of a good quality, is only worth half a crown English.

The

5

The Moldavian.

No Turk ; he not understand.

The Baron. (In Greek.)

Well, let us talk Greek then : Take this money, bring me a sheep and bread ; that is all I ask of you.

The Moldavian. (Still feigning not to understand, and making signs to express that there is nothing in his village, and that they are starving.)

Not bread ; poor ; he not understand.

Baron.

What, have you no bread ?

Moldavian.

No bread ; no.

Baron.

Ah ! wretches, how I pity you ; but at least you shall not be beaten ; that is some consolation. It is undoubtedly very hard to go to bed without any supper ; yet you are a proof that many honest men are obliged to do so. (*To the guide.*) You hear what they say, my dear Ali ; if money can get nothing here, you will own at least that blows would have been superfluous :
these

these poor creatures have nothing, and that grieves me more than having nothing ourselves to eat for the present. We shall have a better appetite to-morrow.

Ali-Aga.

For my part, it is impossible to have a better appetite than I have to day.

Baron.

It is your fault ; why did you make us stop in a poor village, where there is not even bread ? You shall fast for your punishment.

Ali-Aga.

A poor village, Sir ! A poor village ! If the darkness of the night did not prevent you from seeing, you would be delighted with it. It is a little burgh that abounds in every thing. One may find even cinnamon § here.

Baron.

So, I see that your desire of beating is returning upon you.

§ The Turks are very fond of this spice, which they put in all their dishes, and compare it to the most exquisite delicacy.

Ali-Aga.

Ali-Aga.

No indeed, Sir ; it is only my desire of supping, which I certainly cannot get rid of ; and to satisfy it, and convince you that I am better acquainted with the Moldavians than you are, let me talk with him.

Baron.

Can you satisfy your hunger by beating him ?

Ali-Aga.

Yes, I'll answer for it ; and if in a quarter of an hour you have not a most excellent supper, you may return me the blows I shall give him.

Baron.

On this condition I consent, and take you at your word ; but remember, that if you beat him without reason, I shall lay on you most heartily.

Ali-Aga.

As long as you please ; but be as quiet a spectator as I have been during your negotiation.

Baron.

Baron.

That is but fair ; I will take your place.

Ali-Aga. (Rises, puts his whip under his coat, and advancing carelessly towards the Greek, pats him in a friendly way upon the shoulder.)

Good day, friend ; how are you ? Well
——speak——don't you know Ali-Aga,
your friend ? Come ;—why don't you
speak ?

The Moldavian.

He not know.

Ali-Aga.

He not know !—Ah ! ah ! that is astonishing. What friend, seriously, you don't understand Turkish ?

Moldavian.

No ; he not know.

Ali-Aga. (Knocks down the Primate with his fist, and kicks him as he is rising.)

There, scoundrel, that is to learn you Turkish.

Moldavian.

Moldavian. (In good Turkish.)

Why do you beat me? Don't you know that we are poor people, and that our Princes hardly leave us the air we breathe in?

Ali-Aga.

Well, Sir; you see that I am a good language master; he already speaks Turkish charmingly. We can now talk together at least, that is something. (*To the Moldavian, leaning on his shoulder.*) Now that you know a little Turkish, tell me how you and your wife and children all do?

Moldavian.

As well as people can do, who are often in want of the necessaries of life.

Ali-Aga.

You are facetious, my friend; you only want a little more beating; but all in good time; let us come to the point: I must have immediately two sheep, twelve chickens, twelve pigeons, fifty pounds of bread, four oques|| of butter, some salt, pepper,

|| A Turkish weight, equal to about 42 ounces.

nutmegs,

nutmegs, cinnamon, lemons, wine, salad, and good oil of olives, and plenty of each of them.

The Moldavian. (Crying.)

I have already told you we were poor people who had not even bread, where would you have us get cinnamon?

Ali-Aga. (Pulling out his whip from under his coat, and beating the Moldavian till he runs away.)

Ah! rascally infidel, you have nothing! I shall take the same method of enriching you, that I did to learn you Turkish. *(The Greek runs away; Ali-Aga returns and sits by the fire.)* You see, Sir, that my receipt is better than yours.

Baron.

To make the dumb speak, I confess; but not to get a supper; and I believe I shall have some blows to give you, in your turn, for your method does not procure provisions any more than mine.

Ali-Aga.

Provisions! Oh! we shall be in no want of them: and if in a quarter of an hour,
all

all I have ordered be not here, take my whip and return me all the blows I have given him.

In fact, the quarter of an hour was not expired before the Primate, assisted by three of his countrymen, brought us all the provisions, without forgetting the cinnamon.

After this example, it was impossible to deny the efficacy of Ali's receipt; and it was sufficient to cure me of my obstinate humanity. In fact, unaccountable as it appeared, I was evidently wrong, and I was compelled, though reluctantly, to leave to my guide the care of supplying me with provisions in future, without disputing with him about the means.

The country through which we were passing, engaged all my attention. New and picturesque scenes, as interesting from the luxuriant cultivation, as from the great variety of objects, presented themselves at every step; and I should compare Moldavia with Burgundy, if the Greek principality

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could enjoy the inestimable advantages resulting from a moderate government.

These people, who by the faith of treaties have been long governed by their own Princes, should to this day be no otherwise acquainted with despotism, than by the change of their sovereigns at the will of the Ottoman Porte. Moldavia and Wallachia were only subject originally to a very small tribute, and then enjoyed a shadow of liberty. They presented in the persons of their princes, if not men of merit, at least illustrious names, respected by the conqueror, and the Greeks were still flattered to behold in these princes, the image of their former masters; but every thing was soon confounded; the conquered Greeks found themselves no better than slaves, and no longer admitted any distinctions amongst them; their mutual contempt increased their abasement, and in this state of things, the Grand Signior himself, no longer made any distinction in this despicable herd. The merchant was raised to the principality—every adventu-

rer

rer thought himself intitled to that rank ; and these unhappy provinces, frequently offered to the best bidder, soon groaned under the yoke of the most cruel oppression.

An annual tax, become immoderate, from the practice of selling the Principality to the highest bidder, enormous sums borrowed by the tributary, in order to purchase the enfeoffment, interest at twenty-five *per cent.* sums of money daily employed by others, to frustrate the intrigues of the pretenders, the luxury of these upstart Princes, and the eager rapaciousness of these ephemeral beings, are the causes which concur to lay waste the two finest provinces of the Ottoman empire. If it be considered, that Moldavia and Wallachia are more burthened with taxes, and more cruelly oppressed, than they were in their most flourishing state, it will be easy to form a just idea of the deplorable fate of those countries ; as if the Despot, solely bent on destruction, thought himself entitled to increase his exactions in propor-

tion to the diminution of his people, and the loss of the fertility of their lands. I was myself witness, in passing through Moldavia, to the levying of the eleventh poll-tax in that year, though we were then only in the month of October.

We now approached Yassi, to which place my guide had dispatched a messenger, to announce my arrival. I had taken the same opportunity of sending compliments to the reigning Prince, who was son to the old Drogman of the Porte, of whom I have already spoken. I had reason to think our former acquaintance might be of use to me in Moldavia ; but I did not foresee that I should have a proof of his eagerness to receive me, even before my arrival in his capital. At a league's distance, however, from that town, as we were struggling in the dark, against the difficulties of a narrow steep road, on a clay soil, I was informed of the arrival of one of the Prince's carriages which was sent to meet me. In fact, it arrived just in time to block up the passage ; and to complete my impatience,

a secre-

a secretary, who was sent to compliment me, seeks me out in the dark, and acquits himself so tediously of his commission, that I should have been there till now, had I not consented to be removed into his ill-contrived calash, of which he wanted me to admire the magnificence, in spite of the darkness of the night. "Ah! my dear Ali," cried I, "how excellent your receipt is!" For I saw, in fact, that Ali-Aga, ever convinced of its efficacy, was at that moment applying it with as much success as activity, to make them turn the carriage in which I had taken my seat. I tried to make the best of my present situation, by questioning the secretary on such objects as had excited my curiosity, without endangering either his policy or his discretion; but in vain:—all I could get from him were fresh assurances of his sorrow that the darkness hindered me from seeing the gilding of our car, and deprived me of the splendor of the triumphal entry they had prepared for me.

We perceived, however, that we were entering the town, by means of a few scattered lights, and the noise of planks, on which I found the carriage rolling, made me inquire of the secretary the meaning of it. He informed me that these pieces of wood, laid near each other across the streets, served to bear up the carriage, on account of the miry soil on which Yaffi was built. He added, that a fire had just reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes ; that they were then busily employed in re-building it, but that the houses would be built in a more modern taste.— He was going to enter into particulars of the plans, when our carriage turning too short, and running against the corner of the gateway, introduced us into the Convent of the Missionaries, where I was to lodge, well pleased at once to get rid of a very jumbling carriage, and most disagreeable master of the ceremonies.

A tolerable good supper was waiting for us, and some Italian Cordeliers, settled at Yaffi, under the King's protection, and the direction

direction of the Society *de propaganda fide*, had prepared us convenient enough lodgings. Before I went to bed, I received a fresh compliment from the Prince on my safe arrival, and on awakening had a visit from the Governor. He was mounted on a horse richly caparisoned; a croud of servants, dressed like Tchoadars, accompanied this Greek, whom I had known at Constantinople in a very inferior situation. He seemed to be particularly desirous of exciting my admiration of the Oriental splendor with which he was now surrounded, and I was, for my part, no less entertained at seeing him puffed up with the most ridiculous pride. Ali-Aga, however, disconcerted every thing by his presence. We have already seen that this Turk treated the Moldavians in the country with a great deal of levity, but I imagined he would lose something of his importance and prerogatives at Yaffi; but in this I was again mistaken, for he soon made his appearance in a handsome dress, with a grave carriage, and a tone of dignity. He play-

off, in short, the courtier, who feeling that he might one day be Visir, and give Princes to Moldavia, already looked upon himself as their superior; with this idea he began with treating the Governor very indifferently, for the neglect of the Grand Equerry, who had not yet sent him the retinue which was to conduct him to the Prince's audience. The Governor in vain exculpated himself:—"You are all alike," replied Ali-Aga, "but I will put matters in order." Fortunately the so much wished for retinue arrived, which consisted in a horse neatly caparisoned, and four Tchoadars to accompany—Whom? The Tchoadar of the Pacha of Kotchim, who was himself only a Pacha of the second order. But there are no gradations between a Turk and a Greek; the former is every thing, and the latter—nothing.

It was on this unquestionable principle that Ali-Aga mounted his horse with a superior majesty, and that every body he met stopped to make him a profound reverence, which respectful homage he very gravely

gravely returned by a slight nod of the head, and by a gracious smile. His visit to the Prince produced him some presents, and every step he took in Yassi contributed equally to his personal interest and dignity. Whilst my conductor was thus mixing the *utile dulci*, I was contriving means to find a substitute for him, that I might continue my journey. The Prince could only undertake to supply me to the Tartar frontiers; I wrote therefore to the Sultan Serasker of Bass-Arabia, requesting him to send to meet me on the confines of Moldavia.

My plan being thus laid, I got into one of the Prince's carriages, in which, surrounded by a great many more equerries and footmen than I wished for, I was conducted to the palace. I was anxious to get in, to avoid the tediousness of the Turkish ceremonies, which the Greek pride had prepared for my reception.

I found the Prince alone with his brother, in an apartment, more remarkable for two enormous arm chairs, covered with scarlet, than for its richness. I soon guessed

all

all their importance, but I constantly refused to take a seat on one of them. The Prince himself then took another seat, and our former intimacy, which furnished matter for the beginning of our conversation, induced him to intrust me with the history of his present embarrassing situation. I easily perceived that the intriguing fanaticism of his brother, made it extremely cruel, and exposed him to very great risques in future. We terminated this conference by concerting all the necessary arrangements for my departure, after which I was obliged to suffer all the Turkish ceremonies. The most important, and which conveys the strongest mark of regard, is presenting the sherbet, which is always followed by sprinkling you with rose water, and perfume of aloes. This sherbet, so often spoken of in Europe, and so little known there, is composed of cakes of preserved fruits, dissolved in water, and so strongly tinctured with musk, that one can scarcely taste the liquor; the same jar, therefore, once filled,

is

is sufficient for all the visits of the week. I took it cautiously, as I did the sweetmeats given with the coffee, and of which they never change the spoon. All this ceremonial, however, which was repeated for my servant in the anti-chamber, met with a different, and not quite so economical a reception from him: his appetite refused nothing; he eat all sorts of preserved ginger that were offered him; he swallowed, at one draught, the whole jar of sherbet; and the courtiers were viewing him with amazement, when I came out of the Prince's apartment.

On my return to the Convent of the Cordeliers, I found several Greeks of my acquaintance waiting for me, some of whom I kept to dinner, and they afterwards accompanied me in the visits I had to return.

The town of Yaffi, situated on a miry soil, is surrounded by hills, on the sides of which are the most rural spots, where delightful country houses might be built; but where nothing is at present to be seen
but

but a few flocks ; and excepting the houses of the boyards, and those occupied by the Greeks, who come from Constantinople in the Prince's suite, to partake with him of the plunder of Moldavia, all the other dwelling houses of the capital bespeak the greatest misery.

The boyards * represent, with a great deal of stateliness, the grandees of the country ; but they are, in fact, no more than tolerably rich landholders, and very cruel oppressors. It is rarely that they live on good terms with their Prince, and their intrigues are generally pointed against him ; Constantinople is the centre of their manœuvres. It is there that both parties carry their complaints, and their money, and the Sultan Seraskier, of Basa-Arabia, affords a constant refuge to such boyards as the Porte is disposed to sacrifice to its tranquility. The safe guard of the Tartar

* So the great landholders are called ; they are a sort of nobility without any other pretensions than their wealth ; but every thing is in subjection to riches, and the best established regulators with difficulty withstand them.

Prince

Prince ensures the impunity of the boyard; his protection, not frequently, procures even his re-establishment, but that protection must be paid for.

These different outgoings, for which the boyards reimburse themselves by partial persecutions, joined to the taxes imposed by the Prince to complete his annual tribute, and the other articles of expence I have already mentioned, oppress Moldavia to such a degree, that the richness of the soil is scarcely adequate to the purpose. It is also very certain that this, as well as the neighbouring province of Wallachia, in submitting to Mahomet II. with the clause of being respectively governed by Greek Princes, and of being subject only to a moderate impost, have not made so good a bargain as the framers of the treaty imagined; undoubtedly, they did not foresee that the vanity of the Greeks would expose these provinces to be put up to the best bidder: they must have shut their eyes, too, against the clause reserved to the Grand Signior of removing them at pleasure.

sure. A terrible bargain this, between a greedy despot, and these haughty slaves, whom he can exalt to a Principality when he thinks proper, and strip them of it by a nod! It is evident that this power of removal could not fail of carrying the annual tribute of these provinces, by a rapid progression to an excessive height, and that a general system of depredation must be the necessary consequence; and accordingly, the whole art of these subordinate governments consist in embracing, and employing every possible means of accelerating this horrid scene of plunder.

Moldavia and Wallachia were an ancient Roman colony. A corrupted Latin is spoken there to this day, and this language is called *Roumié*, the Roman tongue. These provinces, wretched enough under the lofty yoke of the Romans, groan at present under the weight of a more cruel, and more humiliating oppression—they are pillaged by a set of subalterns, vested with a momentary and precarious authority.

Every

Every thing being ready for continuing my journey, I quitted Ali-Aga, after rewarding him for his good offices, and left Yaffi, attended by two Janissaries of the Prince's guard, and a Greek, who was to be my conductor. This triumvirate, wherever we came, pursued the great principles so happily adapted to the Moldavian manners, and which Ali-Aga had taught me; but a striking instance of violence and robbery exhibited by the Turks, deserves to be recorded. We were passing through a pretty enough valley, with hills on each side, where some sheep were feeding under the care of several shepherds: happening to ask one of the Janissaries some questions respecting the quality of the wool in that country; "You shall judge of that very soon," says he; he then spurs his horse up towards the flock, disperses it, wheels about in the midst of it, fixes on the largest sheep, rides after, and comes up with it in a gallop; stoops down, seizes it by the fleece, lifts it with one hand, places it before him on the saddle,

reco-

recovering his seat himself, and comes up to me full speed. I made several fruitless efforts to make him restore the animal to the owner, or to pay him the value of it. They laughed at my delicacy; the Turk kept the prize, on which he and his comrades regaled themselves in the evening.

This part of Moldavia appeared to me as beautiful as the country we had passed through to arrive at Yaffi; but it became more mountainous as we approached Kichenow. We descended, at length, through defiles, which becoming longer, and opening out more as we advanced, we discovered from their bottom the country of Bass Arabia. We had scarce entered it before we saw the declivities to right and left covered with dromedaries †. The Greek I had with me observed,

† This animal, which has two large lumps on his back, is much larger than the camel, who has only one; but it seems that naturalists are not generally agreed on the subject of the names which ought to distinguish these two species of animals. As the Arabs, however, who have only the camel with one lump, call him *dévé*, or *l'aûtruche dévé couchou*, the bird,

observed, that these animals, which belong to the Tartars, by thus encroaching on a foreign territory, frequently give rise to disputes, which never terminate until the pasturage in litigation is eaten up. We soon saw a greater number of these herds, and I remarked amongst them some white dromedaries.

We had scarcely passed the frontier before we perceived a troop of horsemen coming towards us. It was the interpreter of the Sultan Serasker, sent by that Prince to meet me, with ten seimens of his guard. My messenger whom I had dispatched from Yaffi, was likewise with them. He delivered me the Sultan's answer, and the interpreter added the compliment he was ordered personally to make me; after which four horsemen arranging themselves as a van guard, we continued our journey through a flat country,

bird, or ostrich camel. It seems proper to distinguish by the name dromedary, such animals of the same genus, as have two humps.

entirely open, and on a hard soil, where the print of the road was scarcely visible.

My new conductor was a renegado Jew, born in Poland; he spoke German, and was so loquacious, that I had no occasion to ask him any questions, to get at the bottom of his whole history. He informed me, also, that the Noguais were discontented with the Kam, who had been so weak as to transfer to the Grand Signior the duty of Ichetirach *, in the two provinces of Yedefan and Dgamboylouk, through which I must pass in my way to Orcapi; but our conversation was frequently interrupted by a circumstance not deserving of mention, had it not served to give the superstitious Tartars a favourable opinion of me.

On my arrival on the frontier, where I was met by my escort, a stork, a bird which feeds on serpents, and builds on houses, and is held in veneration by the eastern nations, as a sort of household God,

* I have already said that this duty was paid in corn, at a very unfair price for the husbandmen.

seemed

seemed also to come on purpose to meet me ; it flies past swiftly to the left, very near my carriage ; flies round it, repasses on the right, pursues its flight by the highway, and sits down at twelve hundred feet distance before the horsemen, who preceded me ; rises when they come near, resumes its flight towards my carriage, again makes the circuit, goes and takes its advanced post as before, and repeats this manoeuvre until our arrival at Kichela †.

This town, the residence of the Sultan who commands at Bas Arabia, is considered as the capital of that province. The Prince who filled this station was the eldest son of the reigning Sultan, and had the title of Serasker ‡, (Generalissimo). A Mirza § on my arrival came to compli-

† Kichela means winter quarter.

‡ Serasker, a Turkish word composed of SER, which in Persian means Head, and of ASKER, Soldiers ; it is a military rank which admits of no superior ; it can only be compared with Generalissimo, and that title is usually given to those who command on the frontier, or who are detached with a considerable body of troops:

§ Mirza, the title of all the nobles. The reader will find in the course of these Memoirs, the different classes of the Tartar nobility,

ment me on his part, and to conduct me to the lodgings prepared for me. I went immediately with this gentleman to wait upon the Sultan †. He was a young Prince, of eighteen or twenty years old, of a good size, well made, with a countenance more noble than agreeable, and whose modest demeanour occasioned a little embarrassment, which I took care to remove; and I discovered that this Prince, as well as the Mirzas who composed this pretended barbarous Court, were possessed of infinitely more softness and amenity, than are found very frequently amongst those who are called polished nations.

Excepting the dresses of the Sultan, and the Mirzas, which, without being rich, are distinguished by a sort of luxury and elegance, the furniture amongst the Tartars is confined to what is strictly necessary. The luxury of window glass is no where to be seen but in the Prince's apartments; paper frames are the only windows made

† We have already seen that Sultan means a Prince of the blood.

use of in other houses during the winter, which they remove in summer to breathe more freely, and to enjoy, without obstruction, the distant prospect of the Black Sea. The Sultan entertained me at supper; and notwithstanding I had a very great appetite, it did not escape me that the excellent fish of the Niester deserved better cooks than are to be found amongst the Tartars. Hawking, and grey-hound coursing, seemed to me to be their only amusement; and the Sultan made these parties very frequently with a numerous retinue of Mirzas. They set out on these hunting parties, which last several days, with arms and baggage; the camp is formed every evening; a body of troops always makes part of the Serasker's retinue, and sometimes these parties of pleasure are only a pretext for more serious expeditions.

The night was passed in repairing a little carriage I had bought at Yaffi, and which I had converted into a *dormeuse*, (or carriage for sleeping in;) a waggon carried

the baggage which had been fastened to my carriage all the way from Moldavia; and the Sultan's orders being forwarded, I set off the next day from Kichela with a Mirza, who had orders to conduct me to Baſtcheſeray §, eſcorted by forty horſemen armed with bows and arrows, and with ſabres. Accuſtomed to the want of order, diſcipline, and military knowledge which reigns amongſt the Turkiſh troops, I had no reaſon to ſuppoſe the Tartars were any better. After paſſing the Nieſter, however, which ſeperates Baſs Arabia from Yedefan, where there was ſuppoſed to be a ſort of inſurrection amongſt the herds, the officer who commanded the detachment

§ Baſtcheſeray is the reſidence of the Kam of the Tartars. This town, at preſent conſidered as the capital of the Crimea, was formerly nothing but a country houſe, called the Palace of the Gardens. The ſovereigns by living there have drawn together a number of inhabitants; and this town ſtill keeping the ſame name, has ſucceſſively uſurped the pre-eminence over the ancient town of Crimea, which is now no more than a paltry village, where the tombs alone teſtify its ancient importance.

diſpoſed

disposed the order of march like an enlightened foldier : a van guard of twelve horsemen preceded my carriage at two hundred paces distance, which the officer took under his particular protection, with eight men, four of whom were placed on each side ; two waggons followed after, eight other horsemen closed the march, and two little platoons, of six men each, at more than six hundred paces distance, kept a look out to the right and left.

The plains we crossed were so level and open, that the horizon appeared only a hundred paces from us on every side. No rising ground, not even the smallest shrub to make a variety in this picture ; and we perceived nothing during the whole journey, but a few Noguais on horseback, whose heads were discovered by the piercing eyes of my Tartars, when the convexity of the earth still hid the remainder of their bodies. Each of these Noguais was riding alone on horseback, and those who were questioned by our patrols, made us easy on the subject of the pretended trou-

bles we had been told of. I was curious to know, what could be the object of these men, and was informed, these people thought to be Nomades, because they live in a sort of tents, were settled in tribes, in vallies of fifty or sixty feet deep, which intersect the plain from north to south, and are more than thirty leagues in length, by half a quarter of a league in breadth, the middle of which are occupied by some muddy rivulets, and terminate towards the south by small lakes that communicate with the Black Sea †. The tents of the Noguais are on the banks of these rivulets,

† Notwithstanding the barren appearance of the whole Tartar country, and facility with which they may compare their soil with that of the Moldavians, and Poles, to enable them to form a judgment of the advantages possessed by the latter, habit has such an empire over us, and the wants of men are relatively so connected with this habit, that it gets the better of every sensation. The Noguais have an idea that it is impossible to cross their plains without envying them their possession. "You have travelled a great deal," said one of the Tartars to me, with whom I was pretty intimate, "Did you ever see so rich a country as ours?" It is evident that this epithet, once established, admitted of no contradiction.

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as well as the hovels to shelter the numerous flocks of this pastoral people during the winter. Every proprietor has his particular mark, which is made with a hot iron on the thigh of the horses, oxen, and dromedaries; the sheep, marked with colour on the fleece, are kept in sight, and stray very little from the habitations; but all the other kinds, collected in particular herds, are driven in the spring to the plains, where the proprietor abandons them till winter. At the approach of that season he goes in search of them, to bring them back under his hovels. This was the employment of the Noguais we met with; but it is very remarkable, that a single Tartar thus employed in an extent of plain which is never less than from ten to twelve leagues wide, by more than thirty leagues in length, from one valley to the other, is ignorant even on what side to bend his steps, nor does he reflect about it. He puts thirty days provisions, consisting of millet flour roasted, in a little bag; six pounds of flour are enough for his

his consumption. His provision made, he mounts his horse, never stops till sun set, puts shackles on his horse, leaves him to graze, sups on his flour, goes to sleep, and awakening in the morning, continues his journey. In his way, however, he observes the mark of the herds he meets with, retains them in his memory, communicates his discoveries to the different Noguais employed in the same business, tells them what he is looking after, and in return receives such useful informations as terminate his expedition. It is undoubtedly to be feared, that so patient a people, endowed with such qualities, may one day furnish a very formidable military force.

Our first day's journey was to the nearest valley, which was only at ten leagues distance. The sun, however, was on the decline, and I saw nothing before me but a melancholy horizon, when on a sudden I felt my carriage on the descent, and I perceived the row of Obas †, which ex-

† Obas ; the tents of the Noguais.

tended

tended along the valley, to right and left, as far as the eye could reach. We crossed the rivulet on a little bridge, near which I found three of these Obas out of the line, and one of them, entirely new, designed for me. My carriages were placed behind it; the detachment staid near me. My first care was to examine the whole of the picture, of which my retinue formed a detached groupe. Above all, I remarked that solitude in which we were left, and which astonished me the more, as I thought myself an object sufficiently curious to merit some attention. The Mirza had quitted me on our arrival, to look after provisions, and I employed myself, in the mean time, in examining the structure of my Tartar house. It was like a large poultry basket, built in lattice work, and formed in a circular inclosure, over which was a dome, open at the top; a felt of camel's hair covered the whole on the outside, and the hole at the top, intended occasionally as a vent-hole for the smoke. I observed, also, that the Obas inhabited by the Tartars, and
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in which they made fires, had each of them a similar piece of felt, tied in the shape of a flag, in the opposite direction from the wind, and supported by a long stick from the inside of the Obas. The same stick was made use of to let down this sort of fan, when on extinguishing the fire, the aperture was become useless or inconvenient.

I particularly admired the solidity, united with the delicacy of the lattice work; pieces of raw leather are used for fastening them together; and I understood that my Obas, designed for a new married woman, made part of her dowry.

We had very great appetites, and with much satisfaction saw the Mirza return with two sheep, and a kettle he had procured. The kettle was suspended to three sticks, separated at the bottom, and joined at the top. The kitchen thus arranged, the Mirza, the officer, and some Tartars, proceeded to kill and cut up the sheep, with which they filled the pot, whilst others were preparing spits to roast what

what it could not contain. I had taken care to make a provision of bread at Kichela. This is a luxury with which the Noguais are unacquainted, and their avarice hinders them from making a habitual use of flesh meat, which however they are very fond of. I was curious to know what way they cooked, and to taste their victuals, as well as the good cheer which was preparing for me. The Mirza, to whom I communicated my whim, smiled at it, and dispatched a Tartar, with orders to collect every thing which could satisfy my curiosity. He soon returned with a jar full of mare's milk, a little bag of flour of millet roasted, some small white balls of the size of an egg, and as hard as chalk, an iron pot, and a young Noguais, tolerably well clad, and the best cook of the hord. I paid all possible attention to his manner of proceeding.—He fills his pot three quarters full of water, about four quarts, to which he adds about six ounces of the roasted millet flour; he places his jar near the fire, pulls out a flat knife, wipes it on his sleeve, stirs the contents

contents about in a circular direction, always the same way, until the first simmering of the liquor; he then asks for one of the white balls, which was cheese, made of mare's milk, saturated with salt, and dried; breaks it in small pieces, throws it into his ragout, contriving to stir it round in the same direction; the contents begin to thicken, and he still keeps stirring, but with difficulty at last, until the whole was of the consistence of bread without yeast; he then draws out his flat knife, empties the kettle on his hand, and presents me with a cylinder of puff-paste in a spiral form. I was anxious to taste it, and was really better pleased with the mess than I expected. I tasted also the mare's milk, which perhaps I should likewise have found good, but for a sort of prepossession I could not overcome.

Whilst I was employed with so much luxury about my supper, a more interesting scene was preparing for me.

I have already said, that on my arrival, the Noguais retired each of them to his hut,

hut, shewing no curiosity to see me, and I had already made a sacrifice of my vanity on that head, when I perceived a considerable troop of them advancing towards us; the tranquility, the slowness even with which they approached, could give us no uneasiness. We could not, however, conceive the motives which brought these Noguais on our side, until we saw them stop at the distance of four hundred paces, and one of them advancing alone till he came near the Mirza who conducted me, communicated to him the desire the chiefs of his nation had to see us; adding, that unwilling, in the smallest degree, to disturb our rest, he was deputed to inquire if their curiosity would not displease me; and in case it should not, which would be the place where his companions would the least incommode me? I answered the ambassador myself, and assured him that they were all at liberty to mix with us; that amongst friends there was no distinction of place, much less any particular line of separation. The Noguais insisted on the orders he had
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in that respect, and the Mirza rose up to point out to him the spot to which the spectators might advance, which was soon occupied by this curious troop. I approached also, to take a nearer view of them, and to have the pleasure of making acquaintance with these gentlemen. They all rose upon my coming within reach, and the most remarkable amongst them, to whom I addressed myself, saluted me, by taking off his cap, and making an inclination of his body. I observed that the deputy had used the same ceremonial to the Mirza, which surprized me the more, as the Turks never uncover their heads, but to be more at their ease, and that only when they are alone, or amongst very familiar friends. It is for this reason also, that the European Ambassadors, and their retinue, go to the Grand Signior's audience with their hats on, and it would be a breach of decorum to present oneself otherwise before a Turk; but I shall have some more important remarks to make on the resemblance between our customs and those of the Tartars.

If

If I derived little information from my Noguais, it was undoubtedly because I neglected to ask such questions as might have enlightened me. The natural fondness we have for novelty, however, rendered the close of this day tolerably agreeable. I did very well too with my supper; but the Tartar cookery owed its success amongst my attendants only to their good appetite, which gave a relish to every thing. They had no idea that one could sometimes take a pleasure in indifferent entertainment. It was apparently on my account only that they complained; but I have since been perfectly well convinced, that the sole interest they took in my personal comfort, was only to give them the right of lamenting freely their own privations; by partaking of their wants, I discovered the method of rendering my servants less troublesome; and I give this as the best possible receipt to all travellers.

However interesting these Noguais were, desirous of shortening my stay amongst them, and of going the next day to the se-

cond valley, I set out early in the morning, and we saw the sun appear on the horizon of these plains as mariners observe him on the ocean. We discovered nothing this morning but some little hillocks, like those one sees in many parts of Flanders*, and particularly in Brabant, where the common opinion is, that they have been formed by the hands of men, and by the combination of shovels full of earth, brought by each soldier in ancient times, to throw on his General's corpse, by way of mausoleum. A great number of these hillocks, are likewise to be seen in Thrace, where, as well as in Tartary, in Brabant, and in every place where they are to be found, they are never single. But the quantity of these peculiar accumulations, disposed, as they generally are, at almost equal distances, and always with a conformity of position which seems to bespeak design, more than the simple effect of hazard, led me to trace out, from the

* They are to be found in various parts of England; near Stevenage, in Hertfordshire, &c. and are known likewise by the name of Butts.

customs now in use, the origin of these pretended mausoleums. It appears to me, that their origin may be discovered in the custom prevailing at this day amongst the Turks, when they go to war, of marking by hillocks of earth, placed in sight of one another, the route to be followed by their army. These elevations, it is true, are not so high as those I have just been speaking of, and which have resisted the operation of ages on the surface of the earth.— But may it not be added to my observation, that even if the hillocks of the ancients had no other object than to mark out the march of their armies, in order to insure their communication, the spirit of conquest, which made them penetrate into unknown countries, would naturally induce them to preserve these points of information from too easy a destruction.— With respect to the bones which have been found under some of these hillocks, they only prove, that they were *also* made use of as burial-places for their generals and soldiers, who died on the march. But the greatest part of the butts which have been

undermined in Flanders, prove that *all* these heaps were not places of sepulture ; and if we recur to the idea of considering them as marks, this hypothesis will give the further explanation of the works spoken of by Xenophon, in his Retreat of the Ten Thousand. An unknown soil must every instant have presented obstacles to the Greeks, more difficult to surmount, and snares more formidable, than the nations themselves who were to be intimidated or repelled.

On my journey I saw no appearance of agriculture ; because if the Noguais sowed their corn in frequented places, near the high-roads, their corn would only serve for pasturage for travellers horses. But if these precautions preserve the Tartars from this species of depredation, nothing can save their fields from a more fatal calamity. Clouds of locusts, that frequently shower down on the plains of the Noguais, choose in preference the fields of millet, and destroy them in an instant. The horizon is darkened by their approach, and the

the cloud produced by the prodigious multitude of these animals; obscures the sun. If the Noguais husbandmen happen to be sufficiently numerous, they sometimes succeed by their gestures, and their cries, in averting the storm; if not, the locusts alight on their fields, and form a bed of six or seven inches thickness. To the noise of their flight, succeeds that of their devouring labour, which resembles the clattering of hail, and the consequences are more destructive. Fire itself is not more active; and not a trace of vegetation is to be discovered when the cloud has resumed its flight, to produce fresh disasters in other places.

This calamity would extend itself, no doubt, to countries where the culture is more abundant, and Greece, and Asia Minor, would be more frequently exposed to it, did not the Black Sea swallow up the greatest part of these clouds of locusts when they attempt to pass that barrier.

I have often seen the shores of the Pontus Euxine, towards the Thracian Bospho-

rus, covered with their dried carcasses, and in such numbers, that it was impossible to walk on the shore without sinking half-leg deep into this bed of their skinned skeletons. Curious to know the real cause of their destruction, I have sought for opportunities to observe the moment of it, and I have been witness to their total destruction by a storm, which surprized them so near the coast, that their bodies were floated thither by the waves before they were dry; their carcasses produced such an infectious smell, that it was many days before one could come near them.

We arrived at the second valley before noon; and whilst the Mirza who conducted me, was searching for the persons who were to order the necessary relays of horses, I went up to a groupe of Noguais collected round a dead horse, which they had just been skinning. A young man naked, of about eighteen years old, received on his shoulders the skin of the animal. A woman, who performed the office of taylor, began by cutting the back of this new coat,

coat, following with her scissars the shape of the neck, the fall of the shoulders, the semi-circle which joins the sleeve, and the side of the habit, which came down below the knee. It was unnecessary to support a stuff, which, from its humidity, already adhered to the skin of the young man. The woman taylor proceeded very smartly to form the cross lapels and the sleeves, after which the mannikin, who served as a mold, sitting down squat, gave her the opportunity of stitching the pieces together; so that clothed in less than two hours in an excellent *brown bay* coat, nothing remained for him but to tan this leather by constant exercise, which was accordingly the first thing he did, and I saw him presently mount a horse bare-backed, to join his comrades, who were employed in collecting the horses I wanted, the number of which was not nearly completed.

We already know that the Tartar horses are dispersed over the plains, in particular droves, and distinguished by the mark of the proprietor; but as there are occasions

each individual must contribute to the public service, there is also a particular drove of horses for that purpose, belonging to the whole community. This drove is kept near, and within sight of their dwellings; but these animals at liberty, in an open country, are not easily got hold of; it is evident, likewise, that the choice which must necessarily be made of different horses, for draught, and for the saddle, increases the difficulty. The Noguais succeed in this by a method which furnishes the young men destined for that sort of hunting, with the opportunity of becoming the most intrepid, and most skilful horsemen in the world. For this purpose they provide themselves with a long pole, at the end of which is fastened a cord, the extremity of which terminated in an eye-let, passed through the pole, forms a running knot, open enough easily to admit a horse's head. Furnished with this implement, these young Noguais, mounted on horses bare-backed, the longe of the halter passed through the horse's mouth, ride up to the drove

drove full gallop, observe the animal which suits them, follow him with extreme agility, come up with him, notwithstanding his shifts, to which they accommodate themselves with wonderful address, gain on him by swiftness, and seizing the moment that the end of the pole reaches beyond the horse's ears, they slip the running knot over his head, slacken their speed, and thus retain their prisoner, whom they conduct to their depository.

As I was in want of near eighty horses, and there were only half a dozen horsemen in pursuit of them, their exercise lasted long enough to give me all the pleasure of it; but the relays were so well chosen, that we were able to arrive in pretty good time in the suburb of Oczakow where we lodged.

This fortress, situated on the right bank of the Boristenes, and near its mouth, is built on a small declivity which goes down to the river. A ditch, and a covered way, are the only works for the defence of the place; it is in the shape of a parallelogram,

gram, bending on its length ; and one observes there, as well as at Bender, and at Kotchim, a numerous artillery, every piece of which, badly mounted, is bound together by two enormous gabions, which serving by way of parapet, form the embrasures of the fortification.

Some Jews settled there, keep inns in the suburbs of Oczakow. They were of great service to us in renewing our provisions, and enabling us to cross the plains of Dgamboylouk, inhabited also by the Noguais. The morning of the next day was taken up in passing the Boristenes. This river, strengthened towards its mouth by a tongue of land belonging to the opposite bank, and which is called Kilbourns †, or Kilburn, forms within it a sort of lake, which stretches northward, from whence the river flows. It is more than two leagues broad between Oczakow and the fort opposite, which is situated at the end of the point of land. It was in this direction that we passed the Boristenes. Sailing vessels

† The nose, or promontory of the hair.

are built for the purpose, which take the opportunity of a favourable wind, and may also be pushed with poles from its shallowness, every where but in the middle, where it is deep only for a few yards.

After three hours of this tedious navigation, during which we had nothing to entertain us but the leaping of a few dolphins, we landed at Kilbourns, opposite to the castle which is built there. The landing of my carriages, and the collecting of the horses we had occasion for, took up the conductors the rest of the day, which I employed in visiting the castle, where I found nothing remarkable but its inutility. Its artillery, in fact, designed to co-operate with that of Oczakow, in the defence of the river, unable to form a cross fire at so great a distance, leaves the passage up the middle unmolested. But I could not help remarking, that batteries, placed on the point of Kilbourns, and upon a ledge of rock situated on the opposite bank, would always prevent the entrance of every sort of vessel: this the Turks have never yet been

been able to calculate, and I shall have other more important occasions of fixing the limits of their military knowledge.

We agreed to set out an hour before daylight, and I made choice of a waggon prepared for me to sleep in, that I might take some rest, of which I began to be very much in want.

The commander of my escort knew nothing of this arrangement, and after distributing his troops in the order I have already explained, he very affiduouſly follows my coach till he diſcovered, by the day-light, that I was not in it; he then complained very heavily of their negligence in not pointing out to him the carriage I was in, and immediately ſurrounded it with the little band he had reſerved for that purpoſe. The reader will doubtleſs perceive, that I only relate this circumſtance from its developing the character of the Tartars, which invariably exhibits the feeds of the moſt correct ideas.

The road we took brought us near the Black Sea, and in following the beach from
time

time to time, the very noise of the waves afforded us a more interesting object, than we could find in the naked plains over which we had been passing. Those we still had to pass, were likewise entirely bare, although I have been assured, that they were formerly covered with forests, and that the Noguais had torn up even the smallest stumps, to avoid all possibility of a surprize. But if this precaution effectually secures a nation so transportable as to move off with every thing in less than two hours, it deprives the Tartars of the fuel which is so necessary in that climate. To provide against this want, each family carefully collects the dung of the cattle, which they knead with a sort of sandy earth, and produce a turf which unfortunately smokes the Tartars more than it warms them.

No people live more soberly. Millet and mares milk are their usual diet. The Tartars, however, are very carnivorous. A Noguais might lay a wager that he eat a whole sheep, and win his wager, without having an indigestion. But their taste in
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this respect is restrained by their avarice ; and that avarice is carried to such a length, that, in general, they retrench every article of consumption of which they can dispose. It is only, therefore, when one of their animals is accidentally killed, that they regale themselves with its flesh ; but never unless they arrive in time to bleed the dead animal. They observe the precepts of Mahomet, also, with respect to sick animals. The Noguais watch all the periods of the disorder, in order to seize the moment, when, finding their avarice condemned to lose the value of the animal, they may at least gratify their appetite, by slaying it a moment before is natural death.

The fairs of Balta, and some others on the frontiers of the Noguais country, procure them a sale for the immense droves they are possessed of. The grain, which they collect in abundance, finds a vent likewise by the Black Sea, as well as wool in general, and that kind called *pelades* § :

§ That wool is called *pelades*, which is separated from the skin by means of lime. This operation cannot take place on living animals. It procures the greatest quantity of wool, but injures the quality.

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to these articles of commerce must be added some bad leather, and a great quantity of hare skins.

These different articles combined, procure the Tartars very considerable annual returns, which they will only receive in Dutch or Venetian ducats; but the use they make of them destroys every idea we might be led to form of their wealth from this prodigious quantity of specie.

Perpetually accumulating, and no part of it returning into circulation by any kind of barter, avarice takes possession of, and buries all the riches, and the plains they are concealed in, offer not a trace to aid those researches which they otherwise might tempt. Several Noguais dying without communicating their secret, have already deprived the world of considerable sums. It is also to be presumed, that these people are persuaded, that if they were forced to abandon their country, they might safely leave their money without forfeiting their property; and, in fact, it would be of the same use to them five hundred leagues distance.

tance. They derive no other enjoyment from it than the mere pleasure of possession ; but this has so many attractions for them, that a Tartar frequently takes a thing for the sole pleasure of possessing it a moment : compelled soon after to restore it, he must pay likewise a considerable penalty ; but he has enjoyed it in his way, and he is contented. The avidity of the Tartars never calculates eventual losses. They are satisfied with the enjoyment of momentary advantages.

We now approached Orcapi, and had only one bad night's accommodations to suffer, when I received a messenger who was sent to meet me. He was commissioned by the Kam of the Tartars to ensure me those conveniencies which I had already been fortunate enough to procure myself.

We passed the night in a wretched hovel, covered with reeds, the only produce of the marsh in which it was situated, near the sea. We travelled next morning along the beach, and soon came in sight of the
western

western side of the peninsula, which stretched into the sea on our right-hand. This land, which was likewise flat, but more elevated than the plain we were on, was joined to it by so gentle a slope, as if it had been formed by the line, and the upper part of it presented us with the profile of the lines of Orcapi. We travelled by the side of them pretty early in the morning, and passed the ditch on a bad wooden bridge, which joins the counterscarp to a vaulted gate, which crosses the platform, the porter of which keeps the peninsula every evening under lock and key. One of the redoubts, situated in the middle of the lines, within cannon-shot each way, lined with masonry, and provided with artillery, and some Turkish soldiers, together with the commerce between the Russians and the Tartars, has given rise to a miserable little village near this gate, where I alighted at the lodgings prepared for me. The Governor of the Citadel lost no time in complimenting me on my arrival, by sending me a trencher full of mutton, roasted

in the Turkish fashion, which they call *Orman Kébab* *. I soon after received a deputation also from the Janissaries of the fortress, inviting me to become a member of their body, and I accepted their offer with as much apparent readiness, as they manifested to receive the present of my welcome. The corps of Janissaries, originally composed of slaves carried off from the Christians by the Turks, in time of war, has been long recruited by their children, who are given as a tribute. But the privileges granted to this new militia, determined the Turks to enroll their own children amongst them. The abuses of these privileges, and the number of candidates, naturally going hand in hand, there was no longer any safety out of the pale of their protection. The great men of the empire enrolled themselves; the Grand Signior himself wished to belong to them,

* *Orman Kébab*,—the roast of the woods.—This is the favourite roast meat of the Turks, and consists in pieces of mutton, cut and spitted alternately with slices of onions, roasted at a great fire.

and

and nobody discovered that this was the very method to increase their insolence.— The established regulations for a long time supported this corps, in spite of its irregularities, but they at length ceased to maintain their independence. Each Janissary became possessed of property ; and connected at this day with the general order, by the particular interest of its members, this corps is no longer formidable to its masters.

Whilst I was taken up with these different affairs, I saw a troop of Europeans appear, escorted by the Tartars of the plain. They were Germans, fugitives from Russia, taken by the Noguais. The situation of these unfortunate people, induced me to claim them ; and they were immediately delivered to me. I resigned to them the pyramid of roasted mutton, which they certainly stood more in need of than myself. I then examined my new colony, which was composed of seven men, five women, and four children. They were dejected by misfortune, but began to smile at the prospect of better days. These un-

happy people, born in the Palatinate, had been drawn into Russia by the hopes of bettering their fortune, (the motive of all emigrations) but the disappointment of which makes them soon regret the loss of their former habitations. Imprisoned in a foreign country, their only project was to make their escape, and they knew no other road but the wrong one. Arrived in the desert plains, they had scarcely time to draw the breath of liberty, before the Noguais seized them, to sell them to the first purchaser. It afforded me great pleasure to have saved these poor people, and I took the necessary measures to insure their safe arrival at Baïtchéseray.

I employed the rest of the day in examining the lines of Orcapi. No picture of this kind can be more respectable. Excepting that the works are rather gigantic, I know of none where nature is better seconded by art. The solidity of the entrenchment is likewise to be depended on. It extends across the isthmus for three quarters of a league, and is flanked by two seas.

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It overtops the plain below by about forty feet ; and it will long continue to resist that ignorance which neglects every thing. Nothing points out the æra of its construction, but every thing conspires to prove it of a date anterior to the Tartars ; or if not, that these people were better informed in ancient times, at least, than they are at present.

It is very evident also, that if these lines were palisadoed *en fausse braye*, as well as the redoubts on them, and provided with artillery, and above all, with howitzers, they would secure the free possession of the Crimea against an army of an hundred thousand men. Such an army, in fact, unable to carry these lines by assault, would be soon reduced to the necessity of retreating, from want of water. It was only by passing a small marshy arm of the sea, to gain the head of a very narrow tongue of land which opens parallel with the eastern side of the Crimea, that the Russians were able to penetrate into it in the last war. This route had been already successfully attempted in

the campaigns of 1736 and 1737, by General Munick; but this has neither suggested to the Tartars the desire nor the means of securing themselves in future from a similar misfortune, by defending the end of that tongue of land, where the smallest resistance would be sufficient to check the progress of their enemies.

On quitting Orcapi, I observed that the road was covered with a whitish crust, occasioned by the carriage of the salt which the Tartars sell to the Russians. The salt-works of Orcapi, part of the sovereign's domain, are farmed out to some Armenians and Jews; and equally commercial, and perpetual rivals, they augment the revenue, by bidding against each other.— They are so unskilful in the management of their farms, and their avidity is such, that they are always the dupes of their ignorance. They have no depository to receive, to dry, and to preserve the natural salt which is formed in these salt-lakes; so that the abundance of a plentiful season cannot compensate for the deficiency of a bad one; and the rains very frequently destroy

stroy this valuable production, which is so easily preserved in storehouses. The seller and the buyer seem also to have combined their ignorance in forming the conditions by which they are reciprocally bound. The buyer is allowed to come himself to gather the salt in the lakes, and to load his carriages, which are to be drawn by a certain number of horses, and at a stipulated price ; but with this clause, that if the carriage breaks down from its weight, before it arrives at a given point, a penalty and confiscation follow. The buyer and seller, in this contract, have overlooked the certain loss of what is scattered on the road, and the disadvantages resulting from any commerce founded on a perpetual state of warfare.

After passing the salt-works, we found ourselves in a country more remarkable for its fertility than its cultivation ; and a number of villages, scattered over the plain, afforded us a prospect more interesting, as it was long since we had enjoyed so agreeable a scene. We arrived towards the evening at a habitation, situated in the

bottom of a valley, where some rocks announced to us a change of soil, and the next day we got into a hilly country, through which we travelled during the whole morning. At noon we were obliged to lock the four wheels of my carriage to get it down a very narrow road, cut out of the rock, which brought me to Baïchéfé-ray. I arrived in this town early enough to perceive all the inconveniencies to which I should, thenceforward, be obliged to submit. Mr. Fornetty, Consul of France in Tartary, received me in a house occupied by him ten years, and which was designed for me. This house was not well calculated for the increase of inhabitants I brought with me; an inconvenience, above all, very sensibly felt by my attendants. Fatigued as they were with a long journey, the sight of this strange land of promise completely discouraged them; and I must confess, that my new dwelling could not very well console us for the nine hundred and thirty leagues we had travelled to arrive there. An open wooden stair case, the

the steps of which, rotted by the rain, giving way under the weight of every person who mounted them, enabled the lightest amongst us to reach the only floor there was; which consisted of a hall, and two side rooms, which served for salloon and bed-chamber. The walls, formerly covered with lime and hair, as well as the floor, discovered to us the original construction of this building. It was doubtful whether my trunks would not prove too heavy for it; we tried the experiment, however, with success, and as it is necessary to make the best of every thing, each of us made choice of the spot where we were to rest from our fatigues.

If the successive variety of objects on the road prevents one from attending to any thing but the difficulties to be surmounted before the journey is at an end, that period naturally leads one to examine the nature of a situation which is to be more permanent. This was our first employment on awaking. The time I had already passed with Mr. Confillier, who accompanied
me

me as Secretary, made me very certain that the sweetness of his disposition, and his patience, would get the better of every inconvenience. I was as fortunate, likewise, in the choice M. de Vergennes had made of Mr. Rufin to reside with me in quality of Secretary Interpreter ; and the intimacy which very soon took place between these two young men, by giving animation to their gaiety, rendered their society more agreeable to me : It was, indeed, the only remaining society I had, for I could not flatter myself with the prospect of deriving much advantage from a Monk I had taken at Yassi, and two Polish Armenian Missionaries, any more than from the company of Mr. Farnetty, who was to leave me and return to Constantinople as soon as his local and official information became unnecessary to me.

My arrival was immediately announced to the Visir of the Kam, and this Prime Minister, assuring me of the satisfaction his master would have in seeing me as soon as I was disposed to have my first audience,

sent

sent me the establishment of *Tayn*, assigned me by the Prince. This custom consists in the supplying with necessary provisions, the person whom it is meant to gratify. Throughout the East, gifts are always the mark of honour; obliged, therefore, to submit to this kind of distinction, I transferred my *Tayn* to the subsistence of my little German colony; but although this succour was sufficient to furnish it abundantly, my attendants saw no means of providing for my personal wants. Reduced to bad bread, rice, and mutton, and some lean poultry, we were threatened, in fact, with very indifferent living. I could not conceive that I should want either butter, vegetables, or fish, on the finest soil in the world, and in the neighbourhood of the sea; but I soon understood that celery was cultivated as a rare plant in the Kam's garden; that the Tartars did not know how to make butter; and that the inhabitants of the sea coast were no better mariners than those on the plains, therefore I was obliged to submit. My servants, however,
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at length discovered some spontaneous vegetables, which consoled us a little, and I took measures to get some seeds from Constantinople, and hired a country house, where I established my Germans, to whom I gave some cows; and my new farm very soon supplied me with abundance of every thing. I determined, also, to make my own bread: one of my servants became an excellent baker; and the pleasure of having found out the means of obtaining it, gave an additional relish to our good cheer.

I was waiting for some presents for the Kam, which never arrived, before I had my first audience; but the impatience of Makfoud-Gueray, then on the throne of the Tartars, removed every difficulty. On the day appointed for the delivery of my credential letters, the Master of the Ceremonies waited on me with a detachment of the guard, and some officers appointed to escort me to the Palace. Our cavalcade, half European, half Tartar, drew together a great concourse of people. We alighted
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in the last court, and the Visir, who was waiting for me in the vestibule of the Palace, conducted me into the audience chamber, where we found the Kam seated on the corner of a sofa. A chair was placed opposite to him, where I seated myself, after paying my compliments to the Prince and delivering my credentials. This first ceremony, which installed me in my public capacity in Tartary, was followed by the civilities practised amongst the Turks, and by an invitation from the Kam to visit him frequently. I was then conducted back to my own house in the same order. The following days were taken up in paying the necessary ministerial visits. I endeavoured also to form such connections as might gratify my desire of becoming acquainted with the government, the manners, and the customs of the Tartars; and the Musti, a man of abilities, of strict honour, and capable of a strong attachment, was one of those with whom I formed the greatest intimacy, and from whom I derived the most useful information.

After

After attending principally to these objects, I thought it necessary to endeavour, before the winter attacked me in my hut, to secure myself against the inclemency of the weather, and to enlarge and repair it, which was pretty nearly the same thing as to rebuild it. We were now in the month of November, and no time was to be lost. I drew the plan, I collected the materials, and superintended the work, without departing from the method of building pursued by the Tartars; and I got tolerably well lodged before the end of December, at the expence of six thousand livres, (about 250*l.* sterling.) I shall take this opportunity of describing the structure of the houses in Crimea; but these details, or the architecture of the Tartars, will be of more service to the lovers of œconomy, than to disciples Vitruvius.

Pillars placed on the points which terminate the angles, and the openings fixed perpendicularly by an architrave which supports the joists, prepares the way for the execution of the upper part of the building,

ing, which is formed in the same manner to receive the roof. The building thus disposed, other pillars which are smaller, at a foot's distance from each other, but perpendicular also, occupy the folds, and are designed to hold together the hazle rods, which give the house the appearance of a basket; pounded earth, and cut straw, are then applied to this sort of hurdle, after which a layer of lime and hair, laid on internally and externally, added to the painting of the pillars, the doors, the plinths, and the windows, give the whole of the building a very pleasing appearance.

I must add, that this manner of building has infinitely more solidity than might be imagined from the description, and is certainly more salutary than that of our peasants houses. I am farther convinced, that gentlemen of estates, who, either from motives of interest or benevolence, are desirous of building houses with the view of increasing and favouring the population of their dependants, would gain in every way by adopting this new plan of building,

building, in which they would find great œconomy, and enable the inhabitants to make their own repairs, which will certainly appear the most important advantage.

Having now got a tolerable dwelling, and in a very short time, it became necessary for me to look out for furniture. My steward was the upholsterer, and I took upon myself the joiner's work, and the turnery; these occupations, together with my private affairs, and my visits to the Kam, gave me a continual and varied employment, which filled up all my time.

Makfoud-Gueray had admitted me into his private parties, which were composed of Sultan Nouradin, his nephew, a Mirza of the Chirins †, called Kaia-Mirza ‡, who was the husband of a Sultana, cousin-german to the Kam; of the Kadi-Lesker, and

† Chirin is the name of the most distinguished family amongst them, which composes the principal Nobility of Tartary. We shall see, in the course of these Memoirs, that the established order excludes from this class all the ennobled families.

‡ Kaia, in Tartar language, means Rock.

of

of some other Mirzas. This Prince used to receive us after the prayer of sun-set, and keep us 'till midnight. More diffident from system than from disposition, Makfoud-Gueray, easily prepossessed, recurred with the same readiness to whatever could restore the tranquility of his mind, and render every thing agreeable about him. With more knowledge than usually falls to the share of the Orientals, he was fond of literature, and discoursed on it with satisfaction. Sultan Nouradin, brought up in Circassia, spoke but little, and only talked of the Circassians. The Kadi-Lesker, on the contrary, was very loquacious, and talked of every thing; ill informed, but of a lively disposition, he very frequently departed from the gravity of his situation, to enliven our conversations.—Kaia-Mirza furnished all the news of the day; whilst I entertained them with those of Europe, and answered all their troublesome questions. The etiquette of this Court allows very few persons to be seated in the presence of the Sovereign; the Sul-

tans have this privilege by birth, except the children of the Prince, who from respect, never sit down before their father. This privilege is granted also to the heads of the law, to the Ministers of the Divan, and those of foreign Courts; but excepting Kaia-Mirza, who was seated in quality of husband of a Sultana, the other courtiers stood at the foot of the sofa, and withdrew at supper time. This repast was served on two round tables, one of which spread before the Kam, was set apart for his Tartar Majesty, who usually eats alone, and never departs from that etiquette but in favour of some Sultan distinguished by his age, or who is himself a Sovereign. The second table, prepared in the same room, is for the persons whom the Kam admits to supper. I eat at this table with the Kadi-Lesker, and Kaia-Mirza. Makfoud Gueray always amused himself with encouraging the little differences of opinion which arose daily between the Judge and me, and in which this Magistrate appeared less anxious about the accuracy of his

his reasoning, than the amusement of his master. Our situations were so different, that it was impossible to dispute his favour by the same means ; but I did not neglect those which I thought might please the Prince. I had remarked that he was fond of fire-works, and the ignorance of his artificers was ill calculated to gratify his taste. I got ready the implements, prepared the materials, and instructed my attendants ; and when I thought myself capable of fulfilling my object, I asked permission of the Kam to exhibit a fire-work on his birthday. Accustomed as he had been to see nothing but smoaky gerbs, bad crackers, and small rockets, badly filled, and ill directed, the success of my exhibition was complete.

I had foreseen that the Kam, after politely thanking me for the saltpetre I had been burning, would politely complain of the shortness of the entertainment ; and I had prepared, by way of answer, some electrical experiments, which I offered to exhibit as a little chamber fire-work, to

fill up the remainder of the evening. The first effects of this phenomenon excited such astonishment, that I had some difficulty in destroying the opinion of magic I saw arising in their minds, and which was gradually increased by every fresh experiment. The Kam, however, had the air of comprehending me, and was himself desirous of being electrified. I gave him the stroke very moderately, but I handled the courtiers in such a manner as to obtain the Prince's approbation.

The whole town resounded the next day with the prodigies I had performed; and I was obliged, on the following days, to satisfy the curiosity of those who had not been present with the Kam at the first experiments. Several persons successively applied to me to repeat them upon them and their friends, and I sent every body away equally full of amazement. Nothing was talked of but electricity, and the number of the curious continually increased.— I began, however, to be tired of the inconveniencies of this celebrity, and was
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complaining of it one evening to Mr. Ruffin, who was as tired of it as myself, when we saw upwards of twenty lanthorns appearing in a row. I immediately sent Mr. Ruffin to inquire of this troop the motive of their visit; to whom their spokesman addressed the following discourse:—"We are, Sir, Circassian Mirzas, hostages with the Kam; we have heard of the miracles performed by your Bey §, at his pleasure; miracles, of which no person before has ever had an idea, since the birth of the Prophet, and which will never be known to man after his death; beseech him to permit us to be witnesses to them, that we may one day testify them in our country; and that Circassia, deprived of this phenomenon, may, at least, be able to record the memory of it in her annals."

The gravity with which Mr. Ruffin delivered this harangue, preserved all its ri-

§ Bey;—the title given to persons of distinction, and is equivalent to that of Seigneur, or Lord, and is used also for a Prince; as Bey of Wallachia, Bey of Moldavia.

dicule. I made my new guests mount into the saloon, where ranging them in a semicircle, with all the respect, and all the affectation of mystic devotion, the Circassian orator addressed the same compliment to me which he had done to my interpreter. I listened to his harangue with all the solemnity I was master of, and in my turn, complimented all Circassia; after which, I disposed myself to impress strongly on their minds the remembrance of electricity, whilst Mr. Ruffin, offering them the usual civilities, amused himself with heightening those ideas of the marvellous exploits which had procured me their company.

It is easy to imagine, that in this disposition, I had no difficulty in selecting my victims; each spectator would be electrified in his turn; and these poor creatures, whom I sometimes pitied, gave a laugh of satisfaction, in suffering martyrdom, and I was obliged to give my Circassians some of the rudest shocks, before I had the good fortune to dismiss them fully satisfied; but they were the last whom I electrified, and

I endea-

I endeavoured to procure myself some less brilliant, but more useful amusement. My uniform, which I always wore, threatened to fall in pieces, and I tried to be my own taylor. I had also the fancy to equip a handsome Arabian horse in the French manner. I could not break him with a Tartar saddle, the shape of it raising the rider too far from the horse. This was no small undertaking, for I had to begin with making the implements. I prepared the saddle-bow, disposed all the parts, and at length completed a saddle of crimson velvet, with housings, and trapping well sorted. I made use of it the first time I rode out with the Kam. This Prince had the condescension to admit me to be of all his parties, and I was happy to give him some idea of our manner of riding. —The Tartars know no other principle of equitation than firmness in the seat, and that firmness is carried even to roughness, so that the suppleness of the motions of my Arabian horse astonished the whole court. The Prince's first Equerry

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was desirous of trying him, but scarce had he got astride a bare saddle, before he was obliged to recover his equilibrium, by thrusting in his heels. My horse, not accustomed to the manœuvres of such a cavalier, would soon have got rid of him, had not his servants run to his assistance, and prevented the catastrophe.

The Kam invited me also to his parties of hawking and greyhound coursing, which were very frequent. He was attended by five or six hundred horsemen, and in this manner we ranged the neighbouring plains, where the abundance of game, joined to the vanity of the sportsmen, rendered these parties very lively. Makfoud-Gueray was particularly fond of hawking; his birds were perfectly well trained, and he wanted nothing but good dogs to start the game. I had brought one with me from France, of remarkable beauty, but he was so careless, so spoiled, so wilful, that I never took him out with me, the very circumstance that made them think him of great value. The courtiers spoke of him to the Prince,

Prince, who expressed to me his desire of having him, and even reproached me with a sort of affectation for having concealed him. In vain did I assure him that my dog was ill trained, that he would certainly throw himself upon the birds, and that some disagreeable circumstance would happen ; he took all this for an excuse, and I was obliged to give way to his fancy, which he very soon had reason to repent of. I immediately sent for my dog ; he arrived, and began to pay his court very familiarly. There was a basin of water in the middle of the apartment ; *Diamond* washes himself in it, jumps on the sofa to caress me, and taking the laugh of the Kam for a friendly invitation, leaps briskly upon him, overthrowing, as he passes, every thing in his way. In the first moments of favour, it is permitted to err with impunity ; *Diamond*, therefore, given into the care of a page, from that evening he had free quarters, and a grand hawking party was ordered for the next day. Nothing was talked of the whole evening but the talents

talents of the new favourite; as for my part, I spoke of nothing but his vivacity and forwardness; every thing about him, however, was found charming, and the Kam was so impatient to see *Diamond* in action, that he gave us the rendezvous for an earlier hour than usual next morning. On arrival, I perceived the hero of the entertainment, led by his page, surrounded by spectators, and not knowing what they were going to do with him; they were waiting for me, to give him his liberty. I had hardly loosed him before the cavalry put themselves in motion, to open to the right and left of the Kam, near whose person I was. *Diamond*, terrified at first, was only afraid of being crushed. A quail, however, rises before him; one of the Kam's falcons is flown at the game; he comes up with, and strikes his prey, and continues his flight to some distance, where a falconer, full speed, rides up to take him. *Diamond* also sets off,—a double prey animated his ambition; and had not they thrown a hammer at him, to make him quit

quit his hold, my prediction would have been accomplished; but the dog and the falcon being both frightened, took different ways home, and the Kam was let off for the apprehension of losing his bird.

My position with respect to Makfoud-Gueray, and his Ministers, with the manner in which I had succeeded in arranging my new establishment, rendered my stay at Baïtchéseray supportable. I was particularly intimate with Kaia Mirza, of the family of the Chirins, accounted the first nobility of the Tartars: he had married a Princess of the blood, who filled the place of Olou-Kané, Governess of the Crimea; and this Sultana, willing to give me a mark of her favour, sent me, by the intendant of her household, a present of a night-shirt, richly embroidered, and every thing belonging to the most complete and magnificent deshabille. The mystery with which this mission was accompanied, might have given me some uneasiness; in fact, the Princess was seventy years old; but I was soon made easy on that head. I was informed

formed that presents of this kind are never made by a Sultana, but to one of her relations, and I gave way, without fear, to all my gratitude. The Princess had some interest with Makfoud-Gueray, but her credit would probably have proved insufficient to preserve one of her favourites from the avarice of that Prince.

Yacoub Aga, Governor and Grand Master of the custom-house of Balta, was on the point of falling a victim to it. Dispossessed of his employment, despoiled of his fortune, and chained in prison, he was in danger of losing his head, notwithstanding the zeal of his protectress. It appeared to me very important to endeavour to save, and re-establish this man, with whom France had always great reason to be contented. The Ministers seconded me; the Musti assisted us with ardour, as well as the Sultana; Yacoub Aga quitted his chains to resume his ancient dignity, and the means of again laying the foundation of his fortune, which the Kam would not restore him. But if this Prince may justly be re-
proached

proached with this instance of avidity, it must be owned that he vigorously supported good order, without adopting the fanatical and superstitious principles which lead the Turks to deviate so often from it. The slave of a Jew has murdered his master in his vineyard ; the complaint is made by the nearest relations. The murderer is apprehended, and, previous to his trial, some zealous Mahometans prevail on him to become a Turk, in hopes of obtaining for him a pardon. The conversion of the criminal was opposed to the sentence of death pronounced by the Kam : it is proper to observe, that by the Tartar law the criminal must perish by the hand of the injured person, or by his heirs. It was objected then, but in vain, that a Turk could not be delivered up to the Jews. “ I would deliver up my brother to them,” replied the Kam, “ if he was guilty ; I leave Providence to reward his conversion, if it be sincere ; it is my duty to do justice.” The intrigues of the devoted Mussulmen succeeded, however, in deferring the execution

tion until Friday afternoon, in order to render that law favourable to the proselyte, which obliges the injured party to execute the sentence in four and twenty hours, and the law compelling the Jews to shut themselves up for their sabbath at sun set. The murderer, however, loaded with chains, was conducted to the butt appropriated to this sort of execution; but a new obstacle presented itself. The Jews must not shed blood; a public cryer is sent through the town to offer a considerable sum to any Jew who will lend his hand, and it was amongst the most wretched of all people that this research was fruitless. This new incident was reported to the tribunal of the Kam, and the bigots expected to derive great advantage from it, but they were deceived in their expectations. Makfoud-Gueray permitted the Jews to execute the criminal according to the law of the old Testament, and the scene terminated by stoning him to death.

The Turkish law, of which I have formerly spoken, that which delivers over the criminal

criminal into the hands of the injured party, is founded on the Coran, which grants to the nearest relation of the deceased, the right of disposing of the murderers blood. We have seen that in Turkey, the party complaining *assists* at the punishment; the Tartar law, more literal, obliges them to carry it into execution. I shall further observe, that amongst the Turks, where the executioner does not give the blow until the sum offered by the criminal be refused, there are instances where the wife has sold the blood of her husband. In Tartary, on the contrary, the wife, who is to plunge the knife with her own hand into the criminal, never suffers herself to be tempted by any offer; and the law which commits her vengeance to herself, renders her inaccessible to every other sentiment. One of the Prince's officers, with his arm uplifted, carrying a silver axe, precedes the criminal, conducts him to the place of punishment, and assists at the execution.

There

There is no country where crimes are less frequent than in Tartary. The plains, where malefactors might easily escape, afford very few objects of cupidity; and the peninsula of the Crimea, where there are more temptations, being daily shut, leaves no hope of escaping from punishment. For this reason no precautions are taken for the security of the capital, in which there are no guards but those of the sovereign. The Palace he inhabits, formerly built entirely in the Chinese, but repaired in the Turkish fashion, still retains some of the beauties of its former stile of construction. It is placed at one of the extremities of the town, and is surrounded by very high rocks, from whence flows an abundance of streams, which are conveyed into the kiosks and gardens in a most delightful manner. This situation, however, which looks on nothing but barren rocks, obliges the Kam very frequently to walk upon the heights, to enjoy the beauties of the most variegated prospect.

I have

I have said that the plains of the Noguais, which extend along the continent of the Crimea, are nearly on a level with the sea, and that the isthmus forms another level plain, thirty or forty feet higher. This upper plain occupies the northern half of the peninsula, and afterwards, the face of the country thick-set with rocks, and full of mountains running from west to east, terminate in the pyramid of *Tchadir-Dagué*, the hill of the tent. This mountain, which is too near the sea for its base to add much to its elevation in the atmosphere, can only be classed amongst the mountains of the second order; but if we cast an eye on the map of our hemisphere, it is impossible not to perceive that *Tchadir-Dagué* forms a part of that chain which connects the Alps with Mount Caucasus. In fact, we see that the branch of the Apennines which crosses Europe from west to east, separating Germany from Italy, Poland from Hungary, and Wallachia from ancient Thrace, after plunging into the Black Sea, re-appears in the same direction,

on the southern part of the Crimea, scarcely leaving a passage for the communication of the seas of Sabache, and the Pont-Euxine, and continues as far as the Caspian Sea, under the name of Caucasus, once more to re-appear under that of Thibet, and to stretch to the very eastern extremities of Asia.

The continued series of these mountains too, is as evident, and as clearly demonstrated by all the details we have respecting their appearance, their structure, their fossil productions, and the minerals they contain.

The first observation which presents itself in the Crimea, is the uniformity of a bed of rocks which crowns the top of all the mountains on the same level. These rocks, very sharp pointed, and of more or less thickness, offer the most indisputable traces of the operation of the waters ; one distinguishes throughout them an exact resemblance to those which are at present exposed to the efforts of the sea, and are also strewed with apparently fossil oysters, but
so

so fastened, that they cannot be procured without loosening them with a chisel. It is observeable, likewise, that the living oyster of these fossils, which are of the largest kind, is not known in the seas of the Levant. I shall add, that there are at present no oysters on the northern coast of the Black Sea, and that on the southern part there is only the small kind.

Amongst the fossils adhering to the rocks is found also the sea urchin, the living animal of which is peculiar to the Red Sea. The vallies which furrow that part of the Crimea, contain very great beds of univalve fossils, almost all of the genus of the Chinese bonnet. These fossils differ, however, from those we find in the Mediterranean, by a thicker shell, less hollowed, and covered with circular stripes; in some valleys they are in such quantities, as to choke all vegetation; these shells are there mixed with fragments of a soft sandy stone, imprinted with leaves, and branches, the principal bed of which lies in the bottom of the ravines.

The level of the beds of rocks which I have ascertained from one mountain to the other, with the level of the sea, proves that they are all equally horizontal. I have always given the most scrupulous attention to my researches into a subject as new, as it is interesting; and I have discovered no exception to this uniformity*.

The map of the upper parts of the Crimea, taken from the level of these beds of rock, would exhibit nothing but an archipelago, a heap of islands, more or less elevated, at a small distance from each other, and always to the west of Caucasus, but very distant from the lands, which at that epocha might form the continent towards

* When human knowledge shall have penetrated into the principles of the revolutions of the globe, the observations I now report of the immutability of the soil of the Crimea, will become more important: it will prove that the causes of the great convulsion have had no effect on that peninsula. Earthquakes, which are scarcely known there, can never have been central, the summit of the rocks is still covered with a vegetable earth, and the highest mountains shew no marks of craters, nor the least vestiges of lava.

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the north ; and it is only towards the Little Don, that the earth begins to rise to the same level.

Such researches into primitive geography, by assisting the progress of human knowledge, might throw a new light on a subject which has long been occupied by the spirit of system. The philosophers who are curious to know the original aspect of the globe, may discover it by following the level of those features which are every where the most distinctly marked. The loftiest mountains will present to them levels which have been first abandoned by the waters ; but, limited in these Memoirs to the simple narrative of the present appearance of the countries I have passed through, and of the character of their inhabitants, I shall only add to what I have said on this subject, the answer of a Tartar. I was walking with this man in one of the defiles, adjoining that in which Baïtchéferay is situated. I observed there an iron ring placed on the top of an inaccessible rock, which crowned and terminated the

bottom of this defile. I asked my Tartar the use of this ring: "I imagine," replied he coolly, "that it served formerly to fasten vessels to, when the sea, bathing these rocks, formed a harbour in this valley." I was confounded with this answer, and could not help admiring the genius which, with no other guide than the daily comparison of the banks of the sea, in their present state, with the ancient traces of its waters remaining on the mountains, could elevate itself to the solution of the problem. The ancient Greeks, and ancient Romans too, had opportunities of admiring the most sublime *moral* philosophy of the Sythians; but the vast idea of the revolutions of our globe is more astonishing, undoubtedly, in a Tartar, and his unaffected simplicity still further increased my admiration. We may judge from him that his countrymen interest themselves very little in the monuments which attest the different ages of nature. They neglect also to avail themselves of her labours, by working the mines of Tchadir-Dagué. The Genoese, better

better informed, and certainly more covetous, had begun to extract the gold, which is found in abundance in that mountain. It may also be presumed that the Kam would not have remained insensible to the acquisition of these riches, had not the fear of exciting the avidity of the Porte led him to prefer inactivity to a labour, of which that government would have reaped the benefit. Nor was the danger of seeing these riches carried to Constantinople, the only one to which the Kam of the Tartars would have been exposed, in working this gold mine; by necessarily introducing persons employed in the mint to direct the works, he must have introduced the scourge of prohibition into the Crimea, and the Tartar sovereigns humanely sacrifice their interest in this particular, to the public tranquillity. There is certainly some glory in being poor at this price.

Accustomed to an existence, the pleasures of which arise more from the richness of the soil, than from that pride which imprisons itself under gilded roofs, the Tar-

tars make an article of luxury of the very air they breathe; and this first want of all beings is fully gratified by the beauty of the climate.

The meteors which one observes in the sky of the Crimea, at all seasons, and the whiteness of the *Aurora Borealis*, which are pretty frequent there, furnish certain proofs of the purity of the atmosphere. We may attribute this *etherial* quality, if I may be allowed the expression, to the immense dry plains to the northward of this country, and to the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus, whose summits attract, and absorb all the vapours arising to the westward.

Regular seasons, gradually succeeding each other, unite with the excellence of the soil, to favour the most luxuriant vegetation. It consists of a black virgin mould, mixed with sand, the bed of which extends from Leopold in the Red Russia, to this peninsula. The heat of the sun brings to perfection all sorts of grain with very little labour on the part of the cultivator

vator. This labour consists, in fact in furrowing the land intended to be sown. Melon seeds and aubergine †, peas and beans, mixed together in a bag, are scattered by a man following the plough; they do not take the pains to cover the seeds, but leave that to be done by the rains, and the field is quitted until the time of the different crops, when they have nothing left to do but to clear them from the confusion occasioned by this manner of sowing.

Amongst the number of spontaneous productions which cover the surface of the Crimea, asparagus, walnuts, and filberts, are remarkable from their size. There is likewise an astonishing quantity of flowers, whole fields, covered with tulips of the small species, form, from the variety of their colours, the most pleasing picture.

The manner in which the vine is cultivated in the Crimea, is not calculated to improve the quality of the grape. One fees, with regret, that the most beautiful

† Very common in France; resembling, if not the same as our egg plant, produced in hot-houses, &c.

exposures in the world cannot prevail on the inhabitants to prefer those situations to the valleys ; the vines are planted there in holes of eight or ten feet diameter, by four or five feet deep. The branches of the vine are supported on the edges of these holes, covering the whole orifice with the leaves, under which hang the grapes ; deprived by this means of the sun, but abundantly nourished by a soil always moist, and sometimes drowned with the rain waters which collect there. They strip off the leaves a month before the vintage, after which they cut the vines close to the ground ; and the vineyard, under water during the winter by the overflowing of the rivulets, is covered with all sorts of aquatic birds.

The most remarkable of the different species of these birds which abound in the Crimea, is a sort of wild goose, longer legged than ours, with feathers of a lively brick colour. The Tartars pretend that the flesh of this animal is very dangerous ;

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I was desirous, however, of tasting it, and found no bad effects from the experiment.

There is no country where there are more quails than in the Crimea; and these birds spread over the whole country during the summer, flock together at the approach of autumn, to cross over to the southern shore of the Black Sea, from whence they pass into a warmer climate. The order of their emigration is invariable. Towards the end of August, the quails which are collected together in the Crimea, make choice of one of those serene days, when the northerly wind blowing at sunset, promises a fine night; they collect on the beach, begin their flight together, at six or seven in the evening, and complete their passage of fifty leagues by day-break, where the nets spread on the opposite shore, and the sportsmen lying in wait, ensnare the emigrants.

The vast plenty of waters in the Crimea, do not form there any remarkable river, and the proximity of the shore attracts every rivulet to the sea. The greatest heats
never

never dry up the springs, and the inhabitants find in every hollow the most delicious water, which by running alternately through agreeable meadows, and falling amongst rocks, is beautifully limpid. The Italian poplar is fond of growing near it; and the quantity of those trees might make them to be looked upon as natives of the Crimea, did not the establishments of the Genoese point out from whence they have been transplanted.

That nation, which long governed by its industry, had extended its commerce and its conquests even into the Tauric Chersonesus, where the descendants of the famous Gengis-Kan were compelled to submit to the oppression of these merchants, until the reign of Mahomet the Second, who only freed the Tartars from the tyranny of the Genoese, to substitute as heavy, perhaps, but certainly not so humiliating a yoke.

The traveller still sees in the Crimea, the remains of those chains which bound the Tartars, and kept them in subjection
to

to the Genoese. These monuments of their tyranny, attest at once the fear and uneasiness of the tyrants. It is only on the steepest rocks that we find the traces of their ancient habitations. The rock itself, which serves as a foundation for these strong castles, is hollowed all round, and still exhibits the plan of their dwellings. Their stables are still to be seen, and the mangers cut out of the rock. The greatest part of these hollow ways communicate with each other, and some of them with the upper town, by subterraneous passages, the avenues to which are still open. I found in the middle of a pretty large hall, a square basin of ten feet diameter, by seven feet deep, filled at this day with human bones. I shall hazard no conjecture on this circumstance, but content myself with relating what may still be seen, since these ruins are only at two leagues distance from Bactchéseray. Several of these retreats, cut out of the rock, are to be seen in the Crimea, and always on mountains difficult of access; it may be presumed, that they served

served as an asylum for the flocks of the Genoese, which fed on the plains in the day time, and were shut up by them during the night.

The steepest places have been at all times the asylum of liberty, or the haunt of tyrants; rocks are, in fact, the situations the most capable of dissipating the fears which assail alike the oppressor and oppressed.

It is probable that the town of Caffa, which is still the centre of the commerce of the Crimea, had the same pre-eminence in the time of the Genoese; but on considering the beauty of the port of *Baluklava*, and some ruins of ancient buildings, one is led to imagine that they had not neglected to make use of it. This harbour is situated on the most southerly part of the Crimea; the two promontories which form the entrance, are the first land which appears to the north-east of the Thracian Bosphorus. This port, besides its proximity, extent, and security, is in the neighbourhood of forests, which might furnish
ship

ship timber. At present, totally abandoned, the port of *Baluk-lava* preserves nothing but the traces of its ancient importance, as we have already seen, that the tombs still visible at Krim, the ancient capital of the peninsula, are the only marks of a town which was formerly of some consideration.

There are few towns in the Crimea worthy of being mentioned. *Guez-levé* merits, however, to be spoken of, on account of its harbour, on the western side of the peninsula, and *Acmedchid*, the residence of the Calga Sultan†.

After running over the principal objects connected with the natural history of the Crimea, let us cast a more attentive eye on the political situation of the Tartars, and on the principles of their government.

The countries comprized under the name of Little Tartary, are the peninsula of Crimea, the Cuban, a part of Circassia, and all that territory which separates the Russian empire from the Black Sea. This

† We shall see further what this dignity is.

zone,

zone, from Moldavia to near Taganrog, situated between the 46th and 44th degrees of latitude, is 30 or 40 leagues broad, by near 200 long. It contains from East to west, the Yetitche Koulé, the Dgamboulouk, the Yedeffan, and Bas-Arabia. The latter province, called at present the Boudjak, is inhabited by Tartars settled in villages, as well as those of the peninsula, but the inhabitants of the three other provinces have only tents made of felt, which they remove at pleasure.

These people called Noguais, and who are supposed to be wandering tribes, are settled however in the vallies which intersect the plains they inhabit from North to South; and their tents ranged along them in one line, form a kind of villages from 30 to 35 leagues in length, which distinguish the different hords.

It is natural to imagine that the rural and frugal way of life of this pastoral people, is more favourable to population than amongst polished nations, where multiplied wants, and excess of luxury, radically

cally destroy it. It is observed, in fact, that the population is already less considerable, even under the roofs of the Crimea, and the Boudjak, than under the tents of the Noguais; but there is no other method of computing the number of the people than by the appearance of the military force the Kam is able to bring into the field. We shall see this Prince very soon levy three armies at the same time; that which he commands in person of 100,000 men, that of his Calga of 60,000, and that of his Nouradin of 40,000. He might have raised double the number, without prejudice to the necessary labour; and if we consider the number of soldiers, and the surface of the Tartarian states, we may form some comparison between their population and ours.

The most certain method of estimating the power of these nations, is by seeing them act in armies. But it is well to begin by attending to the nature of their forces, and the means of collecting them.

These means are connected with the go-

vernment, and the origin of all government, forms an essential part of history.

That of the Tartars, in particular, presents the image of a vast ocean, with the extent of which we never can become acquainted, but by following the course of the surrounding coasts. The annals of this people are to be found no where but amongst such nations as have had the misfortune to be near them, and which they have successively over-run. These very nations, however, who have written very little, or not at all, on the subject, leave scarcely any materials for history beyond conjecture; but such as they are, on comparing them with the annals of all people, we are compelled to admit, that the Tartars, above other nations, have the best ascertained claims to antiquity.

Without pretending to a profound inquiry into the great question which occupies the men of letters at this day, that of the true situation of the island of the Atlantes, I shall only observe, on the platform of Tartary, which pro-
longs

longs to the north the chain of mountains of Caucasus and Thibet. As for the Isle of Corea, judging from the course of the waters, which from the centre of Asia empty themselves to the southward and northward of that part of the globe, it forms the most elevated portion of those lands which separate the seas of India from Kamtschatka. This observation alone seems to render it certain, that this country, possessed at present by the Tartars, must have been the first discovered land in Asia, and the earliest inhabited; the source of that population which first sent forth those swarms which, constantly driven back by the wall of China, and the defiles of Thibet and of Caucasus, fell upon the northern parts of Asia, and overflowed our Europe, under the name of Goths, Ostrogoths, and Visigoths.

Besides these geographical observations, this hypothesis is still further supported by the Tartar tradition, communicated to me by Krim-Gueray. We shall soon see this Prince on the throne, and have rea-

son to admire his courage, his information, his philosophy, and death.

It would be difficult to extract any thing sure and well ascertained, from the annals of the Tartars, prior to Jengis-Kam ; but we know that this Prince, elected Grand Kam, by the Kams of the different tribes, was only chosen to be the King of Kings, because he was the most powerful amongst them. We know, likewise, that at this period Jengis-Kam conceived and carried into execution the projects of invasion on which he founded the greatest empire recorded in history. The emigrations subsequent to this conqueror, and which have covered the conquered countries, prove also the degree of population necessary to supply these overflowings ; and all these circumstances combined, carry back the origin of this family to the remotest periods of time.

An uninterrupted succession has continued to our days ; this dynasty of Princes of the Jengis-Kam race, as well as the feudal government, which still prevails in Tartary, amongst them, are still to be found the first laws by which *we* were governed—

verned—the same prejudices which prevailed amongst us; and if we combine these resemblances with the emigrators of this ancient people towards the north, and those of the north towards us, we shall have no difficulty, perhaps, in acknowledging the source of our most ancient customs.

After the Sovereign family, the next in rank are the families of Chirin, of Mansour, of Sedjoud, of Argifin, and of Baroun. The family of Jengis-Kam furnish the Lords Paramount, and the five others the five great vassals of the empire. Those who are called Beys, are always represented by the eldest of each family; and this is invariable. These ancient Mirzas, whose stock is placed by the Tartar annals amongst the companions of Jengis-Kam, form, in the above gradation, the great nobility of the country: they can never be confounded with the ennobled families. The latter, united under the denomination of a Mirza *Capikouly*, that is to say, Mirza, slave of the Prince, have, nevertheless, a

Bey who represents them, and the rights of the great vassalage, that of sitting in the assembly of the states. Amongst the Mirzas *Capikouly*, the family of Koudalak, distinguished by the ancient date of its creation, enjoys the exclusive right of furnishing from the eldest of its members, the representatives of all the ennobled families; and these six Beys, joined to the Lord Paramount, form the Senate, the Select Court, the Supreme Power of the Tartars.

These assemblies are never convoked but on extraordinary occasions, to prevent the Kam, who has the privilege of calling together the grand vassals, from taking advantage of their absence, to extend his authority beyond the bounds of the feudal system: the Bey of the Chirins constantly represents the other Beys; and this Chief of the Tartar nobility, as well as the Sovereign, has his Calga, his Nouradin, his Ministers, and the right of calling together the assembly of the Beys, should this convocation, neglected by the Kam, become necessary to counteract even his designs.

The

The post of Calga of the Chirins, is always held by the eldest of the family, after the Bey; this chief, therefore, has always his successor near him, and this counterpoise of the Sovereign's power is always in action.

The same constitution which combines all its forces against the attempts of despotism, is equally jealous of the security and stability of the lawful power of the Sovereign. The great Tartar vassals appear, in fact, to have no other connection with the government, than as columns to the edifice which they support, without being able to shake it. There is no example amongst this people of such trouble as agitated France, during the whole period of the existence of the feudal system. The Tartar government, still in its purity, leaves no opening for ambition. In France men were born great vassals, in Tartary they have hardly time to be so.

It is propable that the same order was formerly established in the Sovereign's family, and that the Kam of the Tartars was

always the eldest member of that family; but whatever was the order of succession before the arrival of the Genoese in the Crimea, at that æra, we plainly discover tyranny countenancing intrigues; three Kams elected at a time, and Mingli-Gueray, who had the best founded pretensions, was kept a prisoner at Mancoup.

Mahomet the Second had just completed the conquest of Constantinople, and expelled the Genoese: he then flew to drive them likewise from the Crimea, and to rescue Mingli-Gueray from their hands; but he did not re-establish him on the throne, before he concluded a treaty with that Prince, which gave to the Porte his nomination, and that of his successors. A great part of Romelia was given as a dependency to the Jengis-Kam Princes, rich successions were accepted as a price for the liberty of the Tartar Sultans, and the guaranty of their submission; and each Prince of the reigning family, from that instant, formed hopes of attaining the throne by his intrigues at Constantinople.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the precaution of Mahomet the Second, conqueror of the Genoese in Tartary, to insure the execution of his treaty with Mingli-Gueray, it is certain that the contracting parties could not really stipulate any thing, but in virtue of their respective rights; that those of the Tartar Republic could not be compromised, and that the deposing of the Lord Paramount of the Tartars, ascribed to the Grand Signior, could convey no legal prejudice to the independence of the nation. The *jus publicum*, therefore, the public right of the Tartars, has been overlooked, or mistaken by other powers, when they have taken upon them to pronounce *the independence of this nation*. To declare a nation free, which has never ceased to be so, is the first act of its subjection.

The political methods adopted in the Crimea to maintain a perfect equilibrium between the great vassals and the Paramount, rendered it necessary that the distribution of lands should be such as to ensure

sure its duration. But this partition itself must partake of the different modes of living of the inhabitants.

The lands of the Crimea, and of Bafs-Arabia, are divided into noble fields, royal domains, and lands held by foccage. The first, which are all hereditary, do not hold even of the crown, and pay no quit rent. Those of the domain are partly annexed to certain offices by way of salary; the surplus is distributed by the Sovereign to whom he thinks proper. The *droit d'aubaine*, or *escheat*, established in the Crimea in default of heirs in the seventh degree, gives the Kam that privilege over every thing which respects the property of the nobles; and each Minga possesses the same right over the property of the inferior classes, in the whole extent of his fief. It is on this principle, also, that the annual poll tax is collected from all the Christian and Jew vassals, and this latter object gives the utmost extent of the most absolute property to the estates of the nobility of Tarry.

It

It is only on the assembling of the states, likewise, that the Mirzas, possessors of fiefs, are bound to military service; but I shall treat of this article when I come to the circumstances which bring all these details into action.

These distinctions of territorial property are not known amongst the Noguais; and this pastoral people, occupied entirely with their flocks, are left in the full enjoyment of their plains, knowing no other boundaries than those traced out between the neighbouring hords.

But if the Noguais Mirzas partake with their vassals of the community of the soil, if they even affix a sort of disgrace to agriculture, they are not on that account less powerful. Retired during the winter in the vallies, occupied by the hords, each of them collects in his aoul †, the tribute which is due to him, in cattle and provision; and when the sowing season comes, he goes into the plain with his husband-

† Aoul; part of a hord, which comprehends the vassals holding under the same noble.

men, fixes on the spot for cultivation, and divides it amongst the vassals.

By thus changing their tillage, the Noguais unite excellent pasturage with the most plentiful crops, from lands which are never exhausted.

The right of *Corvée*, or binddags, which, having less connection, doubtless, with the feudal system, than with the luxury of the great vassals and Lords of fiefs, prevails likewise in the Crimea, is unknown to the Noguais; but they pay a tenth to the Governor of the province.

The Sultans, who are generally invested with these governments, reside there under the title of *Seraskers*, and command as Viceroys. But the first dignity of the empire is *Calga*, always conferred by the Kam on one of the Princes of his house, in whom he places the most confidence. His residence is at Ackméchid, a town situated at four leagues from Bactchéferay, where he enjoys all the decorum of the sovereignty. His Ministers carry his orders into execution, and his jurisdiction extends very near to Cafa.

The

The dignity of Calga, formerly destined for the presumptive heir, still preserves the privilege of holding the reins of government in case of the Sultan's death, and until the arrival of his successor. He commands in chief the Tartar armies, when the Kam does not himself take the field; and he inherits, as Lord Paramount, the property of all the Mirzas who die within his dependencies, without heirs of the seventh degree of affinity.

The post of *Novradin*, the second dignity of the kingdom, is held also by a Sultan, who has likewise the right of having Ministers; but these, as well as their master, are without any active functions. This little Court, which has no other residence than Bactchéferay, is confounded with that of the Kam; should some event, however, occasion troops to be sent into the field, the command of which is entrusted to the Novradin, his authority, as well as that of his Ministers, acquires from that moment all the activity of the sovereign power.

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The third dignity of the kingdom, held by a Sultan under the title of Or-Bey, Prince of Orcapi, has sometimes been conferred on *Chirin-Mirzas*, who had espoused Princesses of the blood royal. These nobles, who disdain the first places in the Ministry, and will only accept of those destined for the Sultans, have been allowed also to hold exterior governments; but these governments of the frontiers are generally possessed by the sons or nephews of the reigning Prince. They are Generals of the troops of their particular provinces; and when those of Boud-jak, Yedefan, and the Cuban, are called out, they are always commanded by the Sultan Seraskers, even after a junction with the forces under the Kam, the Calga, or the Nouradin.

The hord of the Dgamboylouk is governed only by a *Cuiamakan*, or Lieutenant of the King; he performs, therefore, the functions of Serasker, and conducts the troops to the army, and then resigns his command to the commander in chief, to return to his government, and to have an eye
to

to the security of the plains, which are situated before the isthmus of the Crimea.

Besides these principal employments, the revenues of which arise from certain duties collected in the provinces, there are two *female* dignities. That of *Ala-Bey*, which the Sultan commonly bestows on his mother or one of his wives; and that of *Ouloukany*, conferred on the eldest of his sisters or daughters. Several villages are under the dependencies of these Princesses, who take cognizance of the differences between their subjects, and distribute justice through their intendants, who sit for that purpose at the gate of the Seraglio, the nearest to the harem.

I shall enter into no details concerning the Mufti, the Visir, and the other Ministers, whose offices are analagous to their corresponding situations in Turkey, with this difference, that the principles and customs of the feudal government moderate their exercise in this country.

The revenues of the Kam scarcely amount to 600,000 livres, (about 31,000l. sterling)

ling) for the support of his household ; but if this moderate income restricts the liberality of the Prince, it does not prevent him from being generous. A number of Mirzas live entirely at his expence, until the *droit d'aubaine*, or escheat I have spoken of, furnishes him the means of getting rid of them, by granting them some part of his domain.

Besides, the raising of his troops puts him to no expence. All the lands are held by military service, nor does the Sovereign support any expences of justice, which is gratuitously distributed throughout the whole his extent of government, as well as by the particular jurisdictions in their respective districts ; appeals lie from these subordinate judicatures to the tribunal of the Paramount.

The most complete education in Tartary, extends no farther than to the knowledge of reading and writing ; but if the instruction of the Mingas be neglected, they are distinguished by an easy politeness resulting from the habit of familiarity, in
which

which they accustomed to live with their Princes, which never deviate into disrespect.

Bactchéferay, nevertheless, contains a very valuable historical journal, undertaken by the ancestors of a family who have always preserved, and carefully continued it: This manuscript, begun by its author, by collecting the most ancient traditions, contains all the successive facts down to the present day. The event of my mission into Tartary, occasioned the person who was continuing the journal, to apply to me for some information, by which means I discovered it. I made a fruitless attempt to obtain such an acquisition; ten thousand crowns (£ 1250 sterling) could not tempt him, and circumstances did not allow me time to procure extracts from it.

The gazettes have said enough of the troubles which in our time have distracted Poland, and of the discussions between the Porte and Russia. Maksoud-Gueray found himself in the very centre of this conflagration, and compelled to play a confide-

nable part in it; he trembled for the consequences to himself, saw his successor in Krim-Gueray, and was not deceived in any of his conjectures.

The affair of Balta, however, determined the Grand Signior to display the standard of Mahomet. The Russian Minister was sent to the Seven Towers; and Krim-Gueray, replaced on the throne of the Tartars, was called to Constantinople, to concert with his Highness the first military operations. This news reached Baïtchéferray with the intelligence of the deposing of Makfoud. The same messenger brought orders for the new Kam to install a *Caïmakan* †, and for fixing the general rendezvous at Kaouchan, in Bas-Arabia. I hastened to go there, and was preparing to meet Krim-Gueray at the Danube, when I received a messenger from him, dispensing with that formality, limiting the ceremonial to my accompanying him on his entry, assuring me of his favour, and de-

† This title which signifies "holding place," answers to that of Regent.

firing

‘firing me to prepare a supper for him on the day of his arrival.

This opening appeared to me very flattering; but the supper would have embarrassed me, had not the courier who conveyed the message given me the necessary hints. He was his confidential man.—“Our master loves fish,” says he, “he knows that your cook dresses it very well; his own puts nothing but water in the fauces.” This was enough for me to discover the Prince’s taste, and I gave orders for the best fish of the Neister to be drowned in excellent wine.

The Kam was to make his entry the next day. I mounted my horse, and met him at two leagues distance from the town. He was attended by a numerous cavalcade, and the reception he gave me, corresponded with the testimonial of his favour which preceded him.

Krim-Gueray, about sixty years of age, joined to an advantageous size, a noble carriage, easy manners, a majestic countenance, a lively look, and the happy talent

of assuming at pleasure the appearance of gentle affability, or of a commanding severity. The circumstance of the war brought in his train a great number of Sultans, several of whom were his children. His second son was particularly pointed out to me as a young man whose youthful courage was burning to distinguish itself, and who, from the habitual exercise of his strength, was easily able to bend two bows at a time. He had pursued this exercise from his infancy; and when this Prince was hardly nine years old, his father, wishing to pique his vanity, said to him, with a contemptuous air, that “a distaff suited better a poltroon like him.” “Poltroon!” replied the child, turning pale, “I fear nobody,—not even you!”² letting fly an arrow, which fortunately struck only a basket of wooden ware, into which the iron tip of the arrow went two fingers deep. As the greatest mildness, as well as the general conduct of the child, previous to this fit of passion, gave proofs of the strongest filial respect, such violence
can

can only be attributed, in this instance, to an excessive sensibility on the point of honour.

Every thing necessary was prepared at the gate of the town for the public entry and installation of the Kam, where he dismounted for a moment, to put himself in order, under a tent made ready for the purpose. Dressed in a cap loaded with two aigrets, enriched with diamonds, his bow and quiver slung across his body, preceded by his guard, and several led horses, whose head-stalls were ornamented with tufts of feathers, followed by the standard of the Prophet, and accompanied by all his court, this Prince repaired to his palace, where he received in the hall of the Divan, seated on his throne, the homage of all the grandees.

This ceremony employed us till the hour of the supper I had prepared for him, and which my cook was permitted to serve up. The Prince's cooks, apprized of this rivalry, endeavoured also to distinguish themselves, but they could not contend

against the wine sauces. They succeeded no better in their made dishes; and the superiority of the French kitchen procured me the advantage of daily furnishing a dozen of articles at all the Prince's entertainments.

Krim-Gueray did not confine his taste to good cheer, every pleasure had its charms for him. A numerous orchestra, a troop of comedians and buffoons, whom he had also in his pay, by varying his amusements, filled up all his evenings, and relieved him from the fatigues of political affairs, and preparations for war, with which the day was taken up.

The activity of this Prince, for whom nothing was too arduous, made him require also a great share of it from others, and I may venture to say that I had the good fortune to satisfy him. I had the honour of his confidence, was admitted to his parties of pleasure, and I amused myself greatly with the curious and varied picture of his court.

Kaouchan

Kaouchan was become the centre of Tartary ; all orders were issued from thence ; people flocked there from all parts ; and the croud of his courtiers augmented every day. The new Ministers, whom I had known in the Crimea, and who perceived the particular favour with which I was honoured by the Kam, made choice of me to obtain from their master a favour they would not themselves have presumed to solicit. The experience of his former reign, had made them feel that it was of the last importance to keep him from a first act of severity, which once committed, however repugnant at first to his disposition, no person could tell where his cruelty would stop. An unhappy Tartar having acted contrary to too severe an ordinance, was condemned by the Kam to suffer death ; preparations were making for conducting the wretch to the place of punishment, at the moment of my arrival at the palace ; several Sultans immediately got round me, explained the circumstance, and desired me to preserve the Tartars from the conse-

quences of this execution. I entered into the apartment of Krim-Gueray, whom I found still agitated with the efforts it had cost him to order the execution. I approached him, and inclining myself to kiss his hand, which I had never before done, I held it, notwithstanding the attempt he made to withdraw it. "What would you have?" said he, with a look of severity.— "The pardon of the criminal," answered I. "What concern can you have," replied he, "in this wretch's fate?"—"None," added I; "a man who has disobeyed you can inspire me with none; it is only for you, Sire, that I am concerned; you would soon become cruel, were you, but for a moment, too severe; and you have no reason to cease being good, to be constantly feared and respected." He smiled, and abandoning me his hand, I kissed it; and flew, by his desire, to announce the pardon he had granted. The joy produced by this circumstance was continued by a new Turkish Comedy, of a tolerably burlesque kind. Krim-Gueray, during the representation, asked me many questions

questions about Moliere's plays, which he had heard spoken of. What I told him of the dramatic laws, and of the decency observe on our theatres, gave him a disgust for the farces with which the Turks are still obliged to be satisfied. He perceived of himself, that the *Tartuffe* was preferable to *Pourceaugnac*; but he could not perceive how such a character as the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* could exist in a society where the difference of rank is so perfectly understood, and so invariably established; and I rather chose to let him remain in ignorance, and imagine the poet was in the wrong, than to undertake his justification, by exposing the history of our irregularities. "But," added he, "if it be impossible to carry on the deception respecting *birth*, a man may easily impose upon the world by his character. Every country has its *Tartuffes*; (hypocrites) Tartary has hers;—and you will oblige me by getting this piece translated*.

Whilst

* Mr. Rufin, Secretary Interpreter of the King at Versailles, undertook this work. His understanding would

Whilst our imagination was occupied by these peaceful projects, an Envoy from the Confederates of Poland arrived at Kaouchan, to concert with the Kam the opening of the campaign. This Prince had promised the Grand Signior to begin by an incursion into New Servia: the Polish Ukraine might suffer by this, and it required, therefore, some preliminary negotiations, to which the powers of the Polish Envoy appeared insufficient. Time pressed, however; and Krim-Gueray was desirous that I should go to the neighbourhood of Kotchim, to treat, in his name, with the principal Confederates, who had taken refuge there. But, flattered as I was with this mark of the Prince's confidence, I did not choose to accept the commission without a Tartar colleague, who was named on the spot, and, as well as myself, was invested with full powers. Our Embassy required more dispatch than luxury, and we slept the very next day

would have laid the foundation of good taste amongst the Tartars, had circumstances permitted him to dedicate his time to it.

within

within the confines of Moldavia. The picture of the most horrid devastation preceded even the war in that country; and the terror of the inhabitants from the incursions alone of some troops, had already occasioned this calamity. The desertion of the villages, and the cessation of all husbandry, did not promise that abundance of provisions for the subsistence of the Ottoman army, which they had reason to expect on the borders of the Danube; but these reflections, which I made to my colleague, seemed to interest him infinitely less than the scarcity we were then suffering, until our arrival at Dankowtga†. The Counts Crazinski and Potocki, received us there with all the respect due to the Prince we represented; but the excellent Tokay wine with which they regaled us, gave much more pleasure to the Tartar Ambassador. I had brought him in my carriage; but the inconvenience of an elevated seat, made him desire a Turkish

† A village near Kotchim, whither the Confederates retired after the declaration of war.

waggon for his return, in which he might lie at his ease. I made a point of procuring this satisfaction for a man whose great age, and amiable character, were equally interesting. A waggon followed with our baggage and some servants. We travelled in this manner by a different road, which we were assured was better, although somewhat longer. Very heavy falls of snow, were just succeeded by a pretty severe frost; it was necessary to avail ourselves of this circumstance to pass at Gue-le Pruth, before the swell of the river, which would be occasioned by the slightest thaw. Conducted by a guide, we reached the borders of that river, where the ice was drifting rapidly with the current. I was unacquainted with the depth of it, and was afraid of the experiment; but my conductor encouraged me, by going before my carriage, which led the way. It was drawn by six good horses, and was heavy enough to resist the current, and consequently arrived safe on the opposite side. I hastened to get on shore to look after the
two

two waggons, for which I was uneasy on account of their lightness. They were scarcely a third of the passage before the water began to lift them up. I called to them to stop ; but instead of listening to me, the postillions bear up their horses, the two carriages are overset, and in an instant the river hurries them along pell mell, with the flakes of floating ice. I fly to the postillion of my carriage, to order him to unharness his horses, and go to the assistance of the Tartar Envoy and my people ; I find him on the bank expiring with cold ; I drag him near an adjoining ditch, where I precipitate him, and cover him with snow. My coachman had already followed the course of the river as far as a mill, where, by his cries, he had drawn the attention of the millers. I arrive there soon after, and find them employed in fishing up, with crooks, those who had been under water. But I search in vain my ancient colleague, and I was agitated with the utmost violence of despair for his fate, when I heard his voice, desiring

desiring me to calm myself, whilst he was in the midst of the flakes of ice, and his head barely out of water, peeping through the door of his carriage. He was only stopped by a shallow place, from whence the smallest force would have detached him. I was at length fortunate enough to relieve him, and to collect together all my shipwrecked companions, whom it was still necessary to preserve from the danger of perishing with cold; and, in fact, the frost had so hardened their cloaths, that they could not be stripped until the heat of a good fire had softened the stuff. As soon as I was sure that the care of the millers would be sufficient for them, I ran with my coachman to bring back my postillion, who was recovered by the snow. We saw him, on our arrival, employed in getting out of the hole, into which I had thrown him: the good fire at the mill completely restored him; and I was agreeably surprized, on my return, to find all my baggage fished up. I provided in the best manner I could for the fresh succours
which

which the circumstances required, and I soon had time to sympathize with my colleague, who having himself run the greatest risque, would speak of nothing but my anxiety on his account. The time necessary for drying their cloaths, putting our waggons in order, and victualling our troop, delayed our departure until the next day. Hitherto I had no reason to praise the route we had taken; and the bad roads we met with would have completely disgusted me, had it not been for the hope of very soon arriving at Botouchan. This was described to me as one of the most considerable towns in Moldavia—as a promised land, where I might lay in provisions for the remainder of my journey: it was still day light when we entered the town, but we found it totally deserted, and we had nothing to do but to enter the best-looking house amongst them, for they were all open, which belonged to a Boyard †, as my conductor told me. This situation afforded us few resources; I prevailed on my

† Boyard,—a Moldavian gentleman.

guide,

guide, however, to go, from me, to ask assistance from the superior of a neighbouring convent. I was waiting with impatience for his return, when a coach with six horses appeared in the court-yard; it was the master of the house. He told me on entering, that informed by my emissary of the honour I had done him in taking up my abode at his house, and hearing of my wants, he was come that no other person might have the satisfaction of providing for them. So polite an opening gave us fresh hopes; and the arrival of provisions proved they were not ill founded. However consequential my host might appear, I soon perceived that he was not the eagle of the district, and that giving way, from feebleness of character, to every impulse, the last speaker, with him, was always the most persuasive orator; I consequently found no difficulty in demonstrating to him the danger to which the Boyards exposed themselves, by not preventing the inhabitants from quitting their houses, and even by setting them the example. He informed

informed me that all the inhabitants of the town, to the number of seven or eight thousand, terrified at the bad treatment and ravages of some Sipahis, had taken refuge in the convent which I had sent to; that several Boyards, as timid as the multitude, fomented this confusion, without foreseeing the bad consequences. "I was one of the number," added he, "but you have made me change my opinion; come with me and do the same service to my companions." The pleasure of bringing back all these unfortunate people to their habitations, who were threatened by no immediate danger, made me insensible to the risque of attempting this good work. I kept my host all night, and, as my road lay directly before the gate of the monastery, the next morning the cries of the women and children, the tumult of the multitude crowded together, and the picture of the surrounding misery, determined me to follow my Boyard. He assisted me in passing through the croud to a flight of steps, on the top of which his companions

received me, and introduced me into the hall, where they held their meetings. I had produced such an effect on my host, that still full of my arguments, he was willing to attempt the conversion of his companions; but he was instantly interrupted by the reproaches they showered upon him, which confirmed me in my opinion, that he at least was not the leader of a party. I then thought it time to display my eloquence, but I soon perceived that it would have no great success; my audience was tumultuous, and the tumult left very little interval to the calm I had endeavoured to establish. I next had recourse to more efficacious measures. A panic had occasioned this disorder; a more substantial terror appeared to me the only remaining remedy. I changed my tone, and threatened to complain to the Kam, and to prevail on him to do speedy justice. I apologized for the people who always suffer themselves to be carried away by their leaders; I accused the persons who listened to me, with rebellion, and from that moment

ment they appeared before me trembling and submissive. "Speak yourself, then, to this frightened croud," says the most turbulent of the Boyards; "you will prevail on them more readily than we can; they will bless you, and so far from accusing us, you will be able to bear witness to our good disposition." This I evaded a long time, and should never have accepted the dangerous part he proposed to me, had I not perceived, on returning to the steps to go away, that it was impossible to get through the croud, who were in violent agitations of anxiety ever since my arrival. "Speak to these unhappy people," repeats the same Boyard to me, advancing to the front of the steps, to serve me, no doubt, as a colleague on this new tribune of harangues. Three Janissaries, armed to the very teeth, were sitting there with all the furliness of Islamism. Their consequential air convinced me they had protectors, and seeing it necessary to put an end to this unpleasant adventure, I thought it best to begin by striking an awe into these bravoës,

in order to make an impression on the multitude. “What are you doing here?” said I, in a firm tone of voice; “We are defending these infidels,” answered one of them. “You are defending them,” replied I, “against whom? Who are their enemies? Is it the Grand Signior, or the Kam of the Tartars? In that case you are rebels, and the sole promoters of the sedition. Depend on it I will see you punished.” Before I had finished this short apostrophe, the insolence of my Turks had given place to fear; they had got up to listen to me, and went down the steps exculpating themselves. This first advantage over, the auxiliary troops had attracted the attention of the croud, whose silence appeared to me a good omen. I then advanced, and raising my voice in Greek, I was on the point of obtaining all the success of Demosthenes, when a drunken fellow, pushing through the croud, and standing forth as the champion of the adverse party, insolently broke out into the following discourse:—“What do you talk

talk of submission, of tranquility, of cultivation, whilst we are dying with hunger? Bring us some bread," cried out this madman, "that is what we want."—"Aye, bread," cried out the people in a fury. Perceiving then my whole edifice overturned, and no means of extricating myself from the situation in which I had so imprudently engaged, I took out of my pocket two handfulls of money, that I had of different kinds; "There" cried I, throwing it amongst the croud, "there is bread for you, my good people; return to your habitations, where you will find abundance." The scene quickly changed; one overturned another, to pick up the money; the drunken fellow disappeared amongst the combatants; benedictions succeeded to abuse, and my desire to make my escape was at least equal to the inconsiderate zeal which had brought me amongst them. I received, however, all the honours of war on my retreat, and regained my carriage amidst the applauses of the people, who had opened a passage for

me, and next day returned to their habitations. My colleague, who was waiting for me at the gate of the convent, where I had been making my orations, was not without uneasiness for the consequences of my imprudence. We were mutually very happy to meet together, and continued our journey daily, making the most of the provisions with which the Boyard had supplied us. The villages we passed through, comprehended in the general devastation of Moldavia, scarcely afforded us a shelter during the night. Wallachia, also, had been ravaged by some Turks who were on their way to join the Kam; and who did nothing else, in fact, but lay waste their own country. There is no horror which these Turks did not perpetrate; and, like a licentious soldiery, at the sacking of a town, not content with disposing of every thing at their fancy, still aimed at successes the least to be desired. Some Sipahis † carried their atrocity so far, as to insult the person of the Old Rabbi of

† Turkish Cavalry.

the Synagogue, and the Greek Archbishop.

We arrived at length at Kicherow, after a great deal of fatigue, and very wretched living; but the Governor made us forget every thing, by giving us an excellent supper, and good beds. We had now only twelve leagues farther to go, and I had given orders to be ready early in the morning; when, on awakening, I was informed it was impossible. After an excessive frost in the evening, there had fallen so great a quantity of snow, that the road across the mountains was become impassable for carriages. I was, however, by no means disposed to submit to the obstacles which seemed to combine in retarding our return to the Kam; but my old Tartar, less active, and more fatigued than I was, agreed to stay behind to take care of the baggage. I set out on a sledge, and the rapidity of this conveyance soon brought me into the plains of Kaouchan, where I was still to encounter fresh difficulties. The want of snow, added to the most complete

thaw, was again very near stopping me, had I not met with a cart, which suited me very well; but it was necessary to make use of some violence with the owner, to force him to conduct me. I was perched up with my Secretary on this carriage, and we were congratulating ourselves on not arriving on foot, when, one of the wheels breaking, we were at last obliged to adopt this measure, which certainly did not add much to the dignity of the return of the Ambassador of the Tartars. I did not wait for my colleague, whose return was delayed for some days, to pay my compliments to the Kam. He was already informed of my curious entry into Kaouchan; and this Prince no sooner saw me, than he began with bantering me on the modesty of his Plenipotentiary. Everything I told him respecting Moldavia, seemed to him of so much importance, that he gave orders to remedy this disaster, at the same time that he sent intelligence of it to the Porte. The inquiry into the causes, gave Krim-Gueray an opportunity of disclosing

closing to me his opinion of the Grand Visir, *Emin Pacha*. This Turk had begun his career as a shopkeeper's man, and in time attaining the place of writer of the Treasury, he rose rapidly, by his intrigues, to the first offices of the state. His presumption made him aspire at the Visirate, on the declaration of war; but his ignorance soon gave his master reason to repent of so bad a choice. The Visir's faults could not escape the penetration of the Kam. He explained himself fully on the subject, and was contriving means to preserve the Ottoman empire from the consequences of the folly and misconduct of its Prime Minister.

The incursion into New Servia, concerted at Constantinople, was consented to in the assembly of the grand vassals of Tartary, and orders were expedited into all the provinces, to claim the tribute of military service. *Three* horsemen were demanded from *eight* families, and this was deemed sufficient to complete the three armies, which were to begin their operations

at

at the same time. That of the Nouradin, of 40,000 men, had orders to march to the lesser Don ; that of the Calga, of 60,000, was to file along the left bank of the Boristhenes, as far as Orela ; and the main army, commanded by the Kam in person, consisting of 100,000 men, was destined to penetrate into New Servia. The troops of Yedessan and Boudjak, were peculiarly appropriated to this army, the rendezvous general of which was fixed to the neighbourhood of Tombachar.

On communicating to me all these particulars, Krim-Gueray asked me if I intended accompanying him on this expedition ? I answered him, that the honour of residing with him, on the part of the Emperor of France, rendering it my duty not to be distant from his person, took from me the merit of making a choice.—“ That title by which you are placed near me,” replied he, “ is enough to make me keep you. We are going to suffer very severe colds ; your dress is not calculated for them : dress yourself in the Tartar fashion ; —there

—there is no time to be lost;—we shall set out in about a week.”—I rose immediately, to go and give orders for my campaign equipage, and was leaving the Prince’s apartment, when the Master of the Ceremonies, followed by two Pages of the Chamber, cloathed me in a superb pellice, made of the neck of the white Lapland wolf, lined with light grey fur. I turned round to thank the Kam for the honour he did me. “It is a Tartar house I give you,” said he, laughing; “I have such a one myself, and I wish us to wear the same uniform.”

The Grand Equerry sent me the same day ten Circassian horses; advising me, from his master, not to take my Arabian horses into the field, which were neither able to withstand the cold, nor want of forage. But the scantiness of this supply, did not inspire me with much confidence; nor did I think proper to follow the advice which accompanied the present.

Whilst my Tartar dresses were making, I provided myself with three dromedaries,
and

and ordered the necessary tents to be got ready. Their mechanism, as simple, as it is easy, merits description. Continually encamped, it is natural to suppose that the Tartars have carried that art to perfection. All their ideas are concentrated in an object indispensably become their principal want. A nation at all times unacquainted with the luxury of indolence, must necessarily bend all its attention, and all its researches towards that which is connected with bodily exercise, field sports, and warlike apparatus. The Tartars never take repose but in their hours of leisure ; they are sedentary, without effeminacy ; and their camps are an exact counterpart of their ordinary habitations.

A lattice work, which easily folds and unfolds, forms a small circular wall, four feet and a half high, the two extremities of which, two feet distant from each other, form the entrance of the tent ; after which, eighteen or twenty rods, joined at one end, and having a ring of leather at the other, to hook on to the cross-bars of the
lattice

lattice work, form the pent of the dome, and support the covering of felt in the form of a cone, the circumference of whose base covers the walls, which are lined also with the same stuff. This covering is bound with a girth, and a few shovels full of snow, thrown up against the walls, prevents the external air from penetrating, and perfectly consolidates these tents, without either posts or cordage.—Some of them, formed on a more refined plan, by applying a circular hoop at the top of the cone, to which all the rods are fastened, by leaving a passage to the smoke, admits of a fire in the tent, without rendering it more accessible to the intemperance of the severest climate.

The tent of the Kam was of this kind, but so large, that more than sixty persons might conveniently sit round the wood fire. Decorated on the inside with a crimson stuff, it was furnished with a circular carpet, and some cushions. Twelve small tents, placed around that of the Prince, for the use of his officers and pages, were contained

tained within an inclosure of felt, five feet high.

Every thing was prepared for taking the field; the troops of Bafs-Arabia, collected at Kichela, under the Sultan Serasker, waited only the signal of departure. It was fixed for the 7th of January, 1769, when Krim-Gueray began his march from Kao-uchan, with the troops of his body-guard, the Sultans who had permission to follow him, his Ministers, his great officers, and all the volunteer Mirzas. The first day was taken up in passing the Neister; eight rafts were prepared for this purpose, on which the baggage had been passed over the preceding evening. We found all the tents pitched also on the other side. The first care of the Kam was to enquire where mine were placed; and finding them too distant from him, he gave orders that in future, they should be nearer his own. This Prince had desired me likewise to make no provision, taking upon himself to furnish me during the campaign. The 8th was

was employed in passing the Bafs-Arabian troops.

I was that evening in the Kam's tent, with some Sultans of his society, when his Visir came to announce to him the arrival of a Lesgian Prince, brother to the Sovereign of these Asiatic Tartars. He was invested with the character of Ambassador, to do homage to Krim-Gueray, and to make him an offer of 30,000 men for the present war. I had the honour of assisting at his presentation. A short harangue, majestically delivered, explained the object of his mission; and the answer of the Kam, accepting the homage, but declining the proffered succours, reconciled at once the dignity of the Lord Paramount, and the consequence of the General. The Ambassador then solicited, and obtained permission, to make the campaign. This ceremonial finished, Krim-Gueray invited his distinguished guest to supper.

If we may judge of a nation from an Ambassador of his high rank, and from
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the persons who accompanied him, we must form the most advantageous opinion of the Lefgian Tartars; all of them of a great size, and well proportioned, joined to very noble countenances, an easy carriage, and a military air. I must observe, too, that their arms, such as are in use in Europe, were perfectly well finished; and I shall add, on the testimony of Krim-Gueray himself, that this specimen by no means exaggerates the appearance of the whole body of the Lefgian troops. I have reason to believe also, that being in the vicinity of that nation, he would not have refused their offer, if the coast of the Caspian Sea, inhabited by this people, could have been left defenceless, without endangering the Cabarta.

The colds, which notwithstanding the great falls of snow, had not yet frozen the Boristhenes, very soon became so piercing, as to allow the Tartars collected on the other side to pass over on the ice. We were encamped, and waiting for them near Tombachar. I passed my evenings with
Krim-

Krim-Gueray, whose ideas, often original; were always noble, and always expressed in the most striking manner. This Prince had essential need of giving a free scope to a philosophical turn of mind, which his courtiers were not calculated to gratify.— On this account our conversations became the only remedy capable of dissipating those hypochondriac affections to which he was subject. He took particular delight in investigating the prejudices which govern different nations; he amused himself by tracing up to their sources these prejudices, to which he attributed every error, and even almost every crime; and in bewailing humanity, to vindicate its infirmities, constituted his philosophical amusement. It is my duty to bear my testimony to the talents and understanding of this Prince: I have several times heard him deliver his opinions on the influence of the climate, on the abuses and advantages of liberty, on the principles of honour, on the laws and maxims of government, in a manner which

would have done honour to Montesquieu himself.

A great part of his troops were already assembled, and the effect of the measures taken to victual the army during its stay at Baltâ, determined the Kam to proceed thither. This town, situated on the confines of Poland, and the suburb of which is in Tartary, became celebrated by the commencement of hostilities ; but at that time, totally destitute of inhabitants, presented nothing but the most frightful picture of devastation. The 10,000 Sipahis sent by the Turks to join the Tartars, had reached this place before us ; and had not only laid waste Baltâ, but had burned also all the neighbouring villages. Krim-Gueray led on, with regret, such wretched and ill-disciplined troops ; he augured ill of their courage, and acted only in deference to the good opinion the Grand Signior had formed of them. This body of cavalry, accustomed to the comforts and inactivity of a long peace, no way formed to fatigue, uninured to the cold, and so ill clothed withal,

withal, as not to be able to withstand it, could be of no effectual service whatever. Their bravery was not less suspected by the Kam of the Tartars, than are in general their principles of religion. It is hard to know, in fact, whether the Arnaouts † Timoriots ‡ give the preference to the Coran or the Gospel. I was returning one night from the Kam's, in a Tartar dress, and was crossing the square of Balta, to return to my lodgings; two Sipahis, who were likewise returning home, walked before me, conversing in Greek, cursing their situation, and swearing by the *Holy Crucifix* to revolt on the first opportunity. This excited my curiosity, to make them explain the contradiction; and mending my pace, I came up with them, giving them the Mahometan salute, which they

† Under this name of Arnaouts, are comprehended all the people of Turkey in Europe, which borders on Sclavonia.

‡ Timoriots are the possessors of fiefs, held under the Sovereign by military service; and the Timors are particularly appropriated to the Sipahis, who compose the Turkish cavalry.

very solemnly returned in the Turkish language ; I then addressed them in Greek ; —“ Adieu ! Brethren, we are no more Turks, one than the other of us.” This adieu was not of a nature to separate us so soon. Enchanted with me, they were only astonished that a Tartar could be a Christian ; but not wishing to be known, I framed a story. They confessed to me that they were only Mahometans for the *Timar* ; and this was all I wanted to know.

The main army was collected, and the colds become so violent, that they left the field open for the Tartars to make their incursions into New Servia. We had just been informed that the army under the Calga was ascending towards the Samara ; that the Nouradin's army was also on its march ; and Krim-Gueray, after adapting his plans to this new information, quitted Balta to encamp near Olmar. This town, dependent on Tartary, had been partly burnt by the Sipahis, who completed its destruction even under the eyes of the Sovereign. To this outrage, they
added

added the insolence of coming in a body to him, to demand barley for their horses, whilst his own, as well as those of the whole army, were reduced to browse under the snow. The indignation of the Kam was very near breaking forth into cruelty; but he confined himself to menaces, foreseeing that this insolent banditti would soon be reduced by the cold to the most complete submission.

Hitherto I had been supplied by the Prince; we still had fresh provisions, and I had not been in the way of judging of what was left for the remainder of the campaign; but the scarcity at the camp at Olmar, prepared us the first truly military supper. I was waiting for it without anxiety, but not without appetite, when the officers of the kitchen came to lay out the field table. It consisted of a round trencher of Russia leather, of about two feet diameter; with this trencher were two bags, from whence they drew out some excellent biscuit, and smoked horses ribs, the deliciousness of which was an inex-

haustible topic ; poutargue, cavear†, and raisins, for the dessert, completed the banquet. “ How do you like the Tartar kitchen ?” says the Kam, laughing ; “ Dreadful for your enemies,” replied I. A page, to whom he whispered a moment after, presented me with the same gold cup made use of by his master. “ Taste my drink, also,” says Krim-Gueray. It was excellent Hungarian wine, which he continued to favour me with the rest of the campaign.

On the following days the army marched towards the *Bog*, which we crossed on the ice, and established our first camp in the Zaporovian Deserts. Notwithstanding the advice that had been given me, I had amongst my horses an Arabian, which was very soon exhausted, and, sinking under the rigour of the climate, fell down to die after the passage of the river. The animal had scarcely any breath remaining, when some Noguais came to beg him of

Poutargue and Cavear, are the spawn of fish salted, but variously prepared.

me

me as a present. "What would you do," said I, "with a dead horse?"—"Nothing," says one of them; "but he is not dead; we shall be in time to kill him, and to regale ourselves on him, particularly as he is a white horse, whose flesh is always the more delicate." I readily granted them this morsel, to satisfy their appetite; but I will not undertake to say that they arrived in time to satisfy the Mussulman law, in all its scrupulous exactness.

The cold, however, became so excessive, and the plains we passed over, which had been lately burnt, afforded so little pasturage, that after crossing *L'Eau Morte* *, (the Dead Water) a resolution was taken to follow the course of that river, and to encamp amongst the reeds, which were discovered by our patrols. We had need of them to warm ourselves, and to feed our horses; but the Turkish cavalry, who had flattered themselves, no doubt, with the hopes of making war only with Polish villages, being provided neither with tents

* A River in New Servia.

provisions, experienced at once all the severity of cold and hunger : besides their original want of foresight, they had the imprudence, on their arrival at the camp, to come near the fires ; the greatest number of them, in consequence, were maimed, and pity very soon succeeded the general indignation inspired by their robberies and devastation. The Kam, informed that these wretches were begging their subsistence from tent to tent, ordered a certain portion of biscuit to be collected from each Mirza, and distributed amongst them.

A small eminence we fell in with the next day, whilst the army was marching in line of battle, over an extensive plain, gave Krim-Gueray the desire of seeing all his troops from it in one point of view.— He ordered a halt : I followed him upon this rising ground ; and the dark colour of the Tartarian dress, contrasted with the whiteness of the snow, which served as a back-ground to the picture, suffered nothing to escape the eye. We distinguished by

by the standards, the troops of the respective provinces ; and I could not help remarking, that without any fixed order, the army had thrown itself naturally into twenty files deep, and in lines tolerably well formed. Each Sultan Serasker, with his little court, formed an advanced groupe before his division. The centre of the line, occupied by the Sovereign, formed of itself a pretty considerable advanced corps, the arrangement of which formed a picture no less military than agreeable. Forty companies, each composed of forty horsemen, four abreast, lead the van, in two columns, and formed an avenue, lined on each side with twenty pair of colours.—The Grand Equerry, followed by twelve led horses, and a covered sledge, marched immediately after, and preceded the body of horse which surrounded the Kam. The standard of the Prophet, borne by an Emir, as well as the two pair of green colours which accompany it, came next, and were seen blended with the standard of the Cross, belonging to the troop of Inat Cossacks,

sacks, attached to the Prince's body-guard, which closed the march.

This nation of the Inat Cossacks, which is indebted for its possessions to the circumstances of its emigration from Russia, is established in the Cuban. One Ignatius, more tenacious of his beard than of his liberty, to escape from the razor of Peter the Great, attended by a numerous set of followers, took refuge with the Kam. The Tartars found so much analogy between the word *Inat*, (opinionated) and the word *Ignatius*, that they continue to bear the former appellation, to mark the motive of their emigration. They do not appear to have preserved with the same attention the purity of Christianity, but they faithfully retain the sign of it on their banners, and are still scrupulously attached to the privilege of eating pork. Each of our Inats had a quarter of swine's flesh, by way of portmanteau. The Turks, on these occasions, must find the Prophet's standard in very bad company; and I have often heard them murmuring against that as a sacrilegious

gious profanation, which the Tartars had the good sense to regard as a matter of perfect indifference.

The rest of the army had not so striking an appearance of foresight. Eight or ten pounds of millet, roasted, pounded, and pressed together, in a little bag of leather, suspended to the saddle of every Noguais, furnished the army with a certain provision for fifty days. The horses alone were left to their own industry to find subsistence; but their present situation differed very little from that to which they had always been accustomed. The little attention their horses require, induces the Tartars also to bring two or three, and often more into the field, so that we had more than three hundred thousand in the army.

The Kam, who was much pleased with what he had seen, asked the Sultans and his Ministers, if in the view they had just taken, they distinguished the bravest man in the army? The silence of the courtiers marked sufficiently their answer. "It is neither you, nor I," resumed Krim-Gueray, jocularly;

jocularly ; “ we are all armed :—Tott is the only man who dares go to war unarmed ; he has not even a knife.” This pleasantry terminated the review ; and the army resumed its march to the head of the *Eau Morte*, where we did not arrive till very late, and incamped in an immense open space, lined with reeds.

For several days past, Krim-Gueray had been complaining of a pain in his thumb, where an abscess was formed, and produced a fever ; *we had no surgeon with us* : I offered him my services, and the inspection of a set of lancets I carried about me, in case of need, determined him to trust me with the operation. I immediately applied my instrument ; the incision calmed his pain, the fever disappeared, and the wound, which was healed in a few days, did me much honour, and afforded me particular satisfaction.

From the time of our entering the Zaporovian plains, I never quitted the Kam's tent, where we conversed together till midnight. Wrapped up in his pelice, he
reposed

reposed himself on a cushion, and ordering me to do the same, two pages kept up a good fire, which was very necessary. But if I wanted rest, he was not disposed to let me long enjoy it. This Prince was accustomed to sleep only three hours, and I with difficulty obtained five minutes respite, whilst the coffee was preparing. Thus awakened, without changing my place, I resumed the attitude of the preceding evening.

It was soon perceived that the tent of the Kam was situated on the ice; but nobody discovered until day-break, and at the moment of departure, that all the army had encamped upon a lake, the surface of which, weakened by an infinite number of holes made in it to procure water, threatened to swallow up every thing. No tent was left standing but the Kam's. I was alone with him, when a Polish soldier in my retinue, rushing in like a madman, places himself near the fire, and begins pulling off his cloaths; I ran to him, to turn him out, thinking him either drunk or mad, and threatened

threatened him with the displeasure of the Kam. Nothing moves him; and I could only get a sign from him to let him alone. He had already got off his boots, when Krim-Gueray perceived, by the cracking of his cloaths, that he had fallen into the water, "What are you going to do with the poor fellow?" says he to me, with goodness, "the man who is dying, is he not independent? He knows nobody but the person who can assist him.—Kings are no longer any thing for him!—Let us leave him the tent to himself."—We went out; and I ordered my people to take care of him.

The army, bending its course always to the northward, endeavoured to approach the Great Ingul, of the position of which we had very vague ideas; but by a forced march of twelve leagues, we at length encamped on the banks of that river: a few deserted dwellings, and some hay-stacks around them, were of essential service to us.

We

We were now on the confines of New Servia, and had reached the point from whence our incursions were to strike terror into the wretched inhabitants; and the council of war was summoned to select the troops necessary for that expedition. Whilst it was assembled, a messenger, and some prisoners made by the patrols, deposed that the Zaporovian Cossacks on our right, menaced by the Calga Sultan, having demanded and obtained a neutrality of this Prince, had refused to give any assistance to the Russian Governor-General of St. Elizabeth. These particulars made the Kam and his Generals acquainted with their true positions. It was resolved, in consequence, that a third part of the army, composed of volunteers, under the orders of a Sultan, and several Mirzas, should pass the river at midnight, divide itself into several columns, and successively sub-dividing, should overrun New Servia, burn all the villages and crops which were gathered in, carry off all the inhabitants, and drive off their cattle. It was besides determined, that each
foldier

soldier should have two associates in that part of the army which remained. By this arrangement, every body was to partake of the booty; thus, avoiding all discussions about shares: and the general interest concurred with that of individuals, to make a good choice of the soldiers destined for this expedition. The detachment was likewise apprized, that the remainder of the army, passing the Ingul the next day, would direct its course by slow marches towards the frontiers of Poland, strengthening St. Elizabeth, to protect the foragers, and wait for their return. The destructive talents displayed so eminently by the Sipahis on former occasions, seemed to discover so much zeal for devastation, that they were invited to take a share in this expedition; but the cold had reduced them so low, that none of them were inclined to march. There were only the Serdenguetchety §,

§ A sort of Turkish troops, whose name signifies Forlorn Hope, volunteers determined to conquer or to die; but neither the one nor the other ever happens to them.

and

and some other Turks who followed the Sultan.

The detachment under his orders had marched; and the cold, already less severe than on the preceding evening, was so diminished during the night, that a thaw was to be apprehended. The water even began to cover the ice on the river, and left us no hopes of being able to cross it but by hastening our departure. The army was soon ready; and extending itself along the Ingul, was put in motion at the same moment. The Tartars, accustomed to such expeditions, separating themselves at a certain distance from each other, crossed it lightly, in a little trot; but a number of the Sipahis, who trod heavily, from fear, and who were so terrified by the noise of the broken ice, as to stop short, and were swallowed up before our eyes. We halted on the other side of the river, to give time for the troops to form. Some Sipahis, who had escaped from the danger, were deploring the fate of their comrades;

particularly one of these poor wretches, whose father had just perished in the river, with a sum considerable enough to have made his fortune. One of the Inat Cossacks immediately proposed to fish up the purse for two sequins; his offer is accepted, and he undresses himself, whilst they point out to him the hole amongst the flakes of ice; he plunges in, and remains long enough under water to make the spectators uneasy; but after a few minutes, he appears with the treasure in his hand. This success encourages one of the comrades of the deceased; who regrets his pistols mounted with silver; the intrepid Cossack undertakes a second trip, satisfies his desire, without disputing about an increase of reward, receives his two sequins, puts on his cloaths, and runs to rejoin his colours.

In execution of the plan resolved on, the army remounted the hill, until it fell in with the track beaten in the snow by the troops of the incursion. We crossed this road near the place, where dividing itself
into

into seven branches, it formed a goose's foot, to the left of which we constantly directed our course, taking care never to touch upon any of the subdivisions we successively fell in with, the smallest of which were at length no more than paths traced out by one or two horsemen.

The weather becoming rainy, obliged the army to halt on the banks of the Adjemka, where it passed the night. But this thaw, which at first had made us uneasy, was rapidly succeeded by so severe a frost, that it was with difficulty the tents could be folded up. Small hail, violently drifted by the wind, cut our faces, and made the blood come out of the pores of the nose, and the breath freezing to the whiskers, formed icicles so heavy, as to be very painful. A great part of the Sipahis, maimed in the preceding marches, perished on that day; the Tartars themselves suffered very severely, but nobody dared to complain. Krim-Gueray, who since his indisposition, went part of the way in a covered sledge, amused himself, during

this time, by asking me questions concerning the Pope, comparing his situation to that of the Holy Father, and regretting that he was not in his place. I took this opportunity of representing to him the havoc the cold was making in his army, and the danger of too long a march. "I cannot make the weather better," said he, "but I can inspire them with courage to support its severity."—He calls immediately for a horse, and conforming himself to the custom which prohibits the Oriental Sovereigns from wearing shawls, such as private persons cover their heads with, he braves the hoary frosts, and by his example obliges the Sultans, the Ministers, and every person about him, to go uncovered. This act of vigour put a stop to the murmurs, and gave the Prince an opportunity of viewing the picture of those disasters which occasioned them. In fact, we were losing both men and horses every moment. We met with nothing in the plains but frozen flocks; and twenty columns of smoke rising in the horizon, completed

pleted the horror of the picture, by proclaiming to us the fires which were already ravaging New Servia †.

Falling in at length with some briars, and a little forage, the Kam determined to make a halt. His tent was pitched near a hay-stack, which he ordered to be distributed, and which, in spite of its enormous size, disappeared in an instant. We amused ourselves with this spectacle, which presented at once the eagerness of pillage, and the severity of good discipline. A messenger from the Sultan who commanded the incursion, brought us news in the evening from that Prince. He informed us that the inhabitants of a large village, having to the number of 1200, taken refuge in a Monastery, had compelled him, by their resistance, to shoot off some arrows with brimstone matches, in hopes of seeing their obstinacy give way to the fear of fire; but that the conflagration, too rapidly surrounding these unfortunate peo-

† This day's march cost the army more than 3000 men, and 30,000 horses, who perished by the cold.

ple, had consumed them all. The Sultan added to the deep regret he expressed for this dreadful misfortune, some complaints of the cruelty of the Turks who had accompanied him, whose only courage, he said, consisted in bathing themselves in the blood of the prisoners.

Krim-Gueray was not less sensible than the Sultan to the melancholy consequences of the conflagration; the cruelty of the Turks filled him with indignation; the sight of the heads cut off, still further shocked him †. “I would hang up a Tartar,” added he, “who should dare to present himself before me in the attitude of an executioner.—How can there exist so ferocious a people as to encourage barbarity by rewarding it, and can take a pleasure in such disgusting objects?”

The successive arrival of the Tartars, who were already returning, laden with

† The Turks are accustomed to carry the heads of their slain enemies to the General who commands them; the Tartars, on the contrary, hold this custom in abhorrence.

booty,

booty, and bringing us fresh particulars, had kept us awake till three in the morning. The entrance of the Kam's tent could not be shut, under the present circumstances, and I obtained permission to go and take some hours rest in my own.— It was occupied by Messrs. Rufin and Constillier, who were half frozen, slept little, and were dying with hunger. A hard snow formed the bed I came to share with them, and on which, wrapped up in my pelice, I took my place, and fell asleep. Soon after, one of the Kam's pages half opens the door, announces a present from his master, places it at the feet of Mr. Rufin, and withdraws. Mr. Constillier, who was kept more awake by hunger, made no doubt but that it was something eatable; he knew also that I kept nothing concealed from him of that sort; but too far off to examine the packet, he desires his companion to see what it is; who, on account of the severe cold, refuses a long time: obliged, at length, to submit, he puts out his arm, keeping his head still covered

with his pelice, gets hold of something hairy, which he lifts up by the glimmering of a lamp hanging from the top of the tent, and presented to the greedy eye of Mr. Constillier a human face. Struck with this horrible object, he cries out,—“My friend, it is a head!” and Mr. Rufin sent it as quick as lightning out of the tent, both of them cursing the cold, their hunger, and the Tartar pleasantries.

The cold increased so much next day, that at our setting out, notwithstanding my gloves lined with hare skin, my hands were benumbed with it at the moment of getting on my saddle, and I had much difficulty to recover the circulation. The columns of smoke which covered the horizon on the right, and Fort St. Elizabeth, which we perceived on our left, left no longer any doubt about the route we were to pursue; we directed it towards some edifices in our front, which we soon discovered to be a preparation for signals of fire. These triangular wooden frames, eight stories high, filled with straw and faggots, were, doubtless,

less, intended to spread the alarm, on the first appearance of the Tartars; but they eventually served only as guides for their army as far as Adjemka. This town, preserved from the ravages of the incursion by its vicinity to St. Elizabeth, contained only a few inhabitants, and we suspected that the greatest part of them had taken refuge under the cannon of that fortress.

The main army was in so bad a state, that it had every thing to fear itself from a sally; in fact, two or three thousand men attacking it in the night, would only have had the trouble of cutting us to pieces. This danger was not more clearly proved, than the impossibility of avoiding it by continuing a march, the fatigues of which the troops were no longer able to support. In this extremity, Krim-Gueray ordered the Sultans, and the Mirzas, to form a detachment of 300 horsemen, to go at sunset to insult St. Elizabeth, in order to keep the garrison on the defensive. This chosen band, the only part of the army whose energy of mind was still able to surmount the

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the natural faintness arising from a complication of sufferings, pushing into the suburb to make prisoners, made the success of this military stratagem so complete, that the army was enabled to stay and recover its fatigues in the midst of the greatest plenty. The town of Adjemka, consisting of eight or nine hundred families, situated on a small river of that name, proved the fertility of its soil, by the abundance of the crops of every kind. The troops, however, were not allowed to occupy the houses, from fear of a premature conflagration. They were only permitted to carry off the wood and provisions for consumption; the Kam himself set the example, by continuing under his tent. The next day's rest, by recruiting their strength, and giving time for a part of the incursion troops to join us with a vast number of slaves and cattle, diffused a general gaiety throughout the army.

I observed that the Tartars of each hord, and of each troop, had a watch-word to which their comrades answered, to direct them.

them. That of Ak-Seraï, *the White Palace*, was peculiar to the Kam's household; but if it be easy to conceive the utility of this expedient, a circumstance one would scarcely believe on seeing it, is the care, the attention, the patience, the extreme agility of the Tartars in keeping what they have taken. Five or six slaves, of different ages, sixty sheep, and twenty oxen, the prize of a single man, do not embarrass him. The children, with their heads peeping out of a sack, hanging by the pommel of the saddle; a young girl sitting before, leaning on her left hand; the mother behind on the crupper, the father on a led horse, the son upon another, sheep and oxen before them, every thing in a march, and nothing goes astray from under the vigilant eye of the shepherd of this flock. To collect, to conduct them, to provide for their subsistence, to go on foot to ease his slaves, no trouble is too great for him; and this scene would be truly interesting, did not avarice, and the most cruel injustice, furnish the subject of the picture.

picture. I had gone out with the Kam to view this spectacle, when an officer of the guard, which formed a line of circumvallation around the tent, came to acquaint him, that a Noguais asked permission to make a complaint to him. Krim-Gueray consented; and the Noguais, followed by the same officer, advanced towards us; but uncertain, from the similitude of our pelices, to which of the two he should address himself, he appears disposed to give the preference to me. I was going, however, to retreat, to put an end to his embarrassment, but the Kam, who had observed it, making a sign to the officer to let him remain in his error, drew back himself, and ordered me to hear what he had to say. The case was a horse which had been lost, and of another which he had stolen in return, without being able to justify his pretended right of reprisal. "What must I answer?" says I, to the Kam; "Decide as you think proper," replied he, laughing. I pronounced, accordingly, the restitution of the horse stolen;

stolen ; and was about to dismiss the parties, when Krim-Gueray, who was amusing himself with this pleasantry, whispers me in the ear, not to forget the bastinado. I immediately added, " I *pardon* thee the bastinado thou hast merited." A sign from the Kam, to carry my sentence into execution, proved to me that he was not displeased at my mitigating his.

Every research that could be made after the inhabitants of Adjemka, had hitherto proved ineffectual ; and it was not until two days after, at the moment of our departure, on setting fire to some stacks of corn and forage, which concealed these unfortunate people, that they came and threw themselves into the arms of their enemies, to escape the flames which were destroying their crops, and their habitations. The order to burn Adjemka, was executed with such precipitation, and the fire caught all the thatched houses with such violence and rapidity, that we could barely escape ourselves through the flames. The atmosphere, loaded with ashes, and
vapour

vapour of the melted snow, after some time darkening the sun, formed, from the combination of these different materials, a greyish shower of snow, which crashed between the teeth. One hundred and fifty villages, which were also consumed, producing the same effect, extended this cloud of cinders full twenty leagues into Poland, where our arrival would alone furnish the solution of this phenomenon. The army marched for so long a time in this obscurity, that several hours elapsed before we discovered the desertion of a large party of the Noguais of Yedefan, who, being already joined by their foragers, were returning, at every hazard, by the Desert, to avoid the ten per cent. on their prizes, payable to their Sovereign.

The route of the army lying towards the frontiers of the Polish Ukraine, brought the army to Crasnikow. This village, situated behind a marshy ravine, contained a sort of redoubt, in which the inhabitants, assisted by about a hundred soldiers, at first made some resistance; but their
dread

dread of the flames soon obliged them to fly into a neighbouring wood, from whence they might annoy our troops with musquetry, even in the village. To dislodge them, Krim-Gueray, who went to the head of the wood in person, ordered the Sipahis, who were still remaining, to begin the attack. But those brave fellows, whom the stay at Adjemka, and the intermission of the cold had again rendered insolent, were dispersed on the first fire. The Inat Cossacks, drawn up behind us, animated by the presence of the Sovereign, demanded, and obtained permission to attack. Dismounting in an instant, they penetrate into the wood, hem in the party who defend themselves, kill about forty of them, and make prisoners of all those who were unable to escape. During this expedition, which only cost the Cossacks eight or ten men, and a few slight wounds received by the Tartars, who were near the Kam, that Prince, fired with indignation at the cowardice of the Turks, was conversing with me on the subject, and predicting the humiliation

miliation which it must necessarily bring upon the Ottoman empire.

Occupied with this idea, he was still on horseback at the entrance of the village, when he perceived a Turk, of the race of Emirs, who was coming on foot from the wood, carrying a head in his hand. "Look at that rascal," said he; "he is coming to spoil my supper; but observe him well; he dares scarcely touch the head, now that he has cut it off." The Emir arrives; throws his trophy at the feet of the Prince's horse, and pronounces, with emphasis, his wishes, "That all the enemies of the Emperor of the Tartars, may suffer the same fate as the one he has just been destroying." Krim-Gueray, however, had, by this time, discovered in this head, the features of one of his own Cossacks.— "Wretch!" says he, to the Emir, "how did'st thou kill him? Dead as he is, thou art afraid of him; living, he would have eat thee! It is one of my Inats, killed at the attack of the wood: Who helped thee to cut off his head—to assist thee in deceiv-
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ing me? Thou wouldest not thyself, have had the courage!" The Turk, disconcerted, strives to defend himself; he insists, and has the hardiness to assert, that he killed the man himself, and that he was an enemy. "Examine his arms, then," says the Prince;—knife, sabre, pistols, every thing was examined on the spot, but nothing indicated that he had killed him. "Knock down this pretended man of courage," cries Krim-Gueray. An officer of the guard, giving him a slight stroke with his whip, was desirous of sparing the wretch, at the same time that he satisfied his master's anger. But the Turk, proud of his rank of Emir, the sole privilege of which, in Turkey, is never more than respectfully to take off the head dress of the person to be beaten, exclaims with insolence against this assault upon his person. The fury of the Kam could no longer be restrained: "Cut the green turban, with your whips, upon the rascal's head!" This order, pronounced in a firm tone of voice, which allowed of no further palliation, was

executed with a severity more cruel than death itself. This execution had a great effect on the Sipahis, who, after refusing to share with the Tartars in the fatigues of the incursion, used to watch their return, and frequently rob them, with pistols at their heads, of the slaves they were bringing back; and, after dragging these wretched people about with them for some time, tired of the trouble, cut them in pieces, to get rid of them.

The Kam proposed attacking the little town of Sibiloff, situated behind the wood, at about a league and a half distant from us, the next morning; but from the report of prisoners, the garrison appearing too strong for him to carry it, without cannon, he only permitted some volunteers to go there, whilst he, at the head of his army, bent his course towards Bourky, in Poland.—The cannon of Sibiloff, which we heard on our march, could not hinder the Tartar detachment from burning the suburbs, and making a great number of slaves. All the villages in our line of march underwent the

the same fate ; and the Tartars, more disposed to get possession of the persons of the inhabitants, than to study distinctions respecting the boundaries of Poland, continued their ravages far beyond the prescribed limits. But although the orders of the Kan could not, at first, check the avidity of the Tartars, which purposely confounded the inhabitants of New Servia with those of the Polish Ukraine, the measures adopted by the Prince at length produced the desired effect ; besides that, punishment always very nearly followed the offence.

To insure the respect due to the Republic of Poland, the main body of the army always encamped in the environs of the villages, living on their own provisions ; and the Turks, for whom it was absolutely necessary to procure lodgings, having dared to set fire to some houses, were severely punished. A rough calculation of the slaves carried off by the army, amounted to 20,000 : the cattle were innumerable. We could only proceed by slow marches ; and the necessity of watching

the conduct of the Tartars, determined Krim-Gueray to march in seven columns. In every village where we halted, our lodgings, marked with chalk, left the Sipahis the choice of such houses as were not occupied by the Kam, and his attendants. The Prince had given orders that mine should be always near his. I enjoyed this advantage very quietly for several days, until an Alay-Bey *, who, doubtless, had not been able to find apartments in the town worthy to receive him, very gravely enters my lodgings, followed by two Sipahis, carrying his baggage. I ask him what he wants?—"Don't disturb yourself," says he, coolly, and seats himself on a sort of estrade, between two cushions, which he never quitted, and asks for his pipe.—In vain did I observe to him that these lodgings were designed for me; that we could not both occupy them; that I could not be far from the Sovereign, nor he from his troop. No argument has any weight

* Colonel of the Arnaout Sipahis.

with

with him; he has taken up his quarters, and is immoveable. I had no other resource than to apply to the Seliſtar to free me from this diſagreeable intruder. The Seliſtar comes immediately, under pretence of paying me a viſit, and aſks the Colonel, on entering, how long he has been acquainted with me? The other, not at all diſconcerted, replies, that he is come to make acquaintance with me, by lodging there. “It was at the attack of the wood,” ſays the Captain of the Guards, ironically, “that you ſhould have made acquaintance with us; we ſhould then have received you very cordially; but to-day, you muſt withdraw:—and, take my advice, not to wait until the Kam, informed of your conduct, makes you feel his diſpleaſure.”—“I know,” replies the officer, “all his power;—to take off my head;—he has only to ſay the word;—he may do that, if he pleaſes; but I will never go out of this houſe alive, before the army marches.”—This was his definitive reſolution, and nothing could ſhake him. Enraged at this

madman, the Seliſtar quitted me, to inform Krim-Gueray of what had paſſed.— I immediately received an invitation to wait upon him; and I found him giving ſuch orders as made me tremble. Long irritated againſt the cowardice and bad diſcipline of the Turks, the infolence of my Alay-Bey exhausted his patience. I was only ſent for, in fact, to give him an opportunity of ſtriking the intended blow. The Kam was inclined to extend his rigour to the whole body of Sipahis, and could only be reſtrained by the fear of lying under the imputation of prejudice. Whiſt he was hesitating in this reſpect, I was determined to do every thing in my power to leave the Colonel quiet, whoſe motto certainly was not—‘*To conquer, or to die;*’—but, ‘*To ſleep, or die.*’ I urged, that my complaint might have been improperly explained;—that I was the perſon to be heard;—and having, at length, ſucceeded in amuſing the Kam with remarks on the ridiculous obſtinacy of the Arnaouts, I made my particular inſtance diſappear under the general obſervation.

observation. The order was revoked, with the obliging condition that I should no more quit his tent.

The army, laden with the plunder of New Servia, regulating its march by that of the cattle, was slowly approaching the frontiers; and the Tartars, always insatiable, were taken up with various attempts to elude the vigilance of the Kam, in order to increase their booty, by marauding, when it was strictly prohibited, under pain of the severest punishment. The dark colour, however, of the Tartar dress was too easily distinguishable at a distance on the snow, to favour the stratagems of the plunderers. Some Noguais were detached to turn a Polish village, behind which they were about to conceal themselves, when the Kam, passing along the edge of a wood, on a flat piece of ground, which overlooked the plain, discovered some of these marauders. He gave immediate orders to his Seličtar to go in person, with four Seimens, to scour the village, and bring him such of the Noguais as he should

find in the fact of plundering. The gloomy air with which Krim-Gueray gave this order, announced an intended example.— Already did the Selictar, who went full speed to the spot, to execute his orders, make his appearance, bringing back with him a Noguais, and a piece of linen, and a couple of handfuls of wool, which he had taken. Interrogated by his Sovereign, the marauder confesses his fault, admits that he was acquainted with the rigour of the orders against this rapine, offers nothing in his defence, asks no favour, tries to interest nobody in his behalf, and coolly awaits his sentence, without displaying either insolence or weakness. “ Let him dismount, and tie him to a horse’s tail, to be dragged until he dies ; and let a crier, following him, inform the army of the crime which has incurred this punishment.” To this dreadful sentence pronounced by the Kam, the Noguais makes no other reply than by dismounting from his horse, and approaching the Seimens who were to bind him ; but there were
neither

neither cords nor straps. Whilst they were looking for them, I attempt a word in his favour; Krim-Gueray's only answer was, by sharply commanding them to put an end to the business, by making use of a bow-string. They tell him it is too short. "Well, let him pass his head, then, through the bow when it is bent." The Noguais obeys; follows the horseman, who drags him rapidly along, until, unable to keep pace with the trot of the horse, he falls, and thus escapes from the yoke by which he is held. A fresh order from the Prince remedies this deficiency.—"Let him hold the bow with his hands," added he. The criminal immediately crosses his arms, and takes hold of it; and the complete execution of this sentence, which condemned the prisoner to be his own executioner, affords, undoubtedly, an example of the most extraordinary submission; it surpasses all the strange stories which have been related of the blind obedience to the orders of the Old Man of the Mountain §.

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§ Mr. Rufin, who accompanied me, and who is
at

The attention of Krim-Gueray to the maintenance of good order in Poland, extended even to the religious worship of the inhabitants; and some Noguais, convicted of having mutilated a picture representing Christ, received a hundred strokes of the bastinado, at the gate of the church. "We must teach the Tartars," said he, "to respect the fine arts and the Prophets."

Savran || was now the desired point, in which town the distribution of the booty was to take place; the different hords were to be dismissed, reserving only the troops of Bas-Arabia, and where we were to be freed from the rabble which surrounded us. It was determined to remain there, and the division of the spoils was proceeded on the day after our arrival; but the strictest attention could not prevent some rogues from getting their booty out of the way of the *ten per cent.* duty, payable to the Sovereign. But, notwithstanding the frauds, at present Professor in the Royal Academy at Paris, was, as well as myself, a witness to this incredible fact.

|| A town in Poland, in the Palatinate of Brucklaw.
the

the Prince still received for his share near two thousand slaves, which he made presents of to the first comer. I was necessarily present at these transactions, and perceiving the liberality of the Kam in this particular, I represented to him, that if he continued, he would soon dry up the source of it.

Krim-Gueray.

There will always be enough left for me, my friend ; the age of desire is past ; but I have not forgot you : far from your *harem*, marching over deserts, and braving the rigour of the climate with us, it is but just that you should have your share. I design for you six *beautiful young boys* ; such, in short, as I should make choice of for myself.

Baron.

I am overcome with your bounty ; but can one be worthy of a favour, without feeling all its value ? I should be afraid of not holding this present in so much estimation as you seem to do.

Krim-

Krim-Gueray.

It is by no means my wish to bargain for your gratitude: I make you a present of these slaves; they will give you pleasure, and that is all I desire.

Baron.

But, your serenity overlooks my situation, which forms an insurmountable obstacle to my accepting them. Your slaves are all Russians: How can I accept, as slaves, the subjects of a power in friendship with the Emperor, my master?

Krim-Gueray.

That reason most certainly escaped me; nor can I even conceive the principle on which it is founded. Hostility makes slaves; friendship gives, and receives them: What have you to do with any thing else? I do not wish, however, to discuss your duty: it is your business to fulfil it; and, to accommodate this matter between us, I will substitute six young Georgians, in place of the six Russians; that affair is settled.

Baron.

Baron.

Not so easily as you imagine, Sir ; I have still another intrenchment, difficult to force.

Krim-Gueray.

What is that ?

Baron.

My religion.

Krim-Gueray.

As for that subject, I shall take special care not to touch on it. You do very well, doubtless, to conform to it ; but admit, at least, that it is very hard.

Baron.

I will do more ; I will confess that human weakness very frequently goes astray ; for example, it is very possible that I only show myself so scrupulous, and so attached to my duty, to-day, because you offer me nothing which tempts me to deviate from it ; six *pretty girls*, perhaps, might have made me forget all my principles ; and, if we examine, with attention, we shall often find, that the most sublime efforts

forts of virtue depend solely on the nature of the temptation.

Krim-Gueray.

That I perfectly comprehend; and that method of seduction would not have escaped me, had it been in my power to employ it; but I, too, have my religion, my friend, which allows me to give *male* slaves to Christians, and enjoins me to keep the *females*, to make profelytes of them.

Baron.

You think it of less consequence, then, to make male than female converts?

Krim-Gueray.

Not at all; our great Prophet has foreseen every thing: this very distinction proves it.

Baron.

I must confess that I do not perceive the difference; you will permit me, therefore, simply to believe, that you are better pleased with *pretty girls*.

Krim-Gueray.

No, I assure you; but I act in obedience to a law, founded on reason. Man, in fact,

fact, being from his nature independent, even in the state of slavery, retains a secret elasticity, which can hardly be restrained by fear; he feels his powers, and is governed by his moral sense: God alone can influence his mind; in your country, in mine, he may be equally enlightened; the conversion of man is at all times a miracle; that of a woman, on the contrary, is the most natural, and the most simple affair in the world: women are always of the religion of their lovers. Yes, my friend, love is the great missionary; when he appears, there is an end to every dispute.

Not did I dispute any longer this strange position, which is only applicable, doubtless, to women in a state of slavery.

After distributing the greatest part of the slaves which had fallen to his share, and sent off the Noguais, the Kam directed his march towards Bender; but if the diminution of the army disencumbered us on our march, the Prince's generosity threw a fresh impediment in the way of so speedy a return as he desired. In fact, the
Sultans

Sultans, and the Ministers, reduced, heretofore, to their camp equipage, now possessed, from their master's liberality, a superfluity, which prevented them from marching with so much celerity. The Kadi-Lesker, the most insatiable, as well as the most artful in pushing his pretensions, was consequently possessed of the greatest share of the plunder. Curious to examine his proceedings in the midst of his abundance, I went one evening to see him.

This great Judge, venerable from his age, and the whiteness of his beard, carelessly stretched on the carpet destined for the five prayers, was very differently employed; he was at that moment contemplating, with a greedy eye, and a malicious smile, forty or fifty slaves, of different ages; who, collected round a stove, formed a groupe of figures of both sexes, all with their eyes fixed on him. "I wish you joy," said I, on entering, "of the success of a war by which, it seems, you have been a considerable gainer."

The

The Kadi-Lesker.

You see, indeed, that the Kam has treated me handsomely ; but you know likewise, that one must be possessed of his riches, to enjoy what he has given me.

Baron.

On the Kam's principles, however, respecting the conversion of women, he has reckoned upon you, I imagine, to make some profelytes.

The Kadi-Lesker.

I was examining, when you came in, which of these faces is the handsomest. Do you take a look, and see if we shall agree in our choice.

Baron.

I have already made mine. That pretty girl, standing on that bench, with her slender shape, her modest air, and her soft looks, has my vote.

The Kadi-Lesker.

For my part, I prefer that round face, full of colour ; and I will answer for it, that the little rogue will be charming in a page's dress. I own to you, that the slender

make with which you are captivated, strikes me only as a want of *em bon point*.

Baron.

In that case, I am no longer sorry for you, for she is the only one who can be reproached with that fault ; but I see there some very young ones ; can you tell me at what age one begins to *convert* them ; and if the Noguais, whose activity in carrying off girls I have been witness to, are not in too great haste to marry them ?

The Kadi-Lesker.

No ; the Tartars, on the contrary, are very scrupulous in that respect.

Baron.

But scrupulous as they are, Sir, they cannot interrogate their slaves about their age, and even that knowledge would be insufficient.

The Kadi-Lesker.

They have a better method of quieting their consciences. I'll tell you what it is : if they are in doubt about the strength of a young girl, they pretend to be out of humour, terrify her, and oblige her to save herself

herself by flight ; and when she begins to run, they throw one of their caps at her, the shock of which, without hurting her, is sufficient to make her fall, if she be weak ; in this case they respect her extreme youth, comfort her for the fall, and wait patiently till she is strong enough to withstand this proof.

Baron.

I doubt much, whether that be sufficient ; but even in that case, can you always answer for the good faith of those who make use of it ? “ You may always rely upon it,” replied the Kadi-Lesker, “ that their customs are more faithfully observed by a people whose manners are simple, than the most rigorous laws are amongst polished nations.”

A sort of indisposition, which I felt at that moment, and which I attributed to the suffocating heat in the chamber of the Kadi-Lesker, determined me to return home ; but the sudden transition from such an atmosphere, to a very piercing cold, affected me so violently, that I fell down

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senseless

senseless on the snow. I lay there some time before one of the Judge's attendants perceiving me, acquainted his master with it. The assistance, however, I received from them would have done but little, had not Krim-Gueray, informed of my accident, sent some *eau de luce* by one of his pages, which made me respire. Notwithstanding this aid, I was too feeble to walk home; four Tartars carried me, and the concern with which it effected Messrs. Ruffin and Constillier, by awakening my sensibility, assisted in recruiting my spirits.

We arrived next day at Bender, and the Governor came to meet us at some distance from the town. At the Kam's approach, this Visir, followed by a great retinue, gets from his horse, with his whole troop, advances towards the Prince, salutes him profoundly, and turns round to march on foot before; but this mark of respect paid, he received permission, from Krim-Gueray, to mount, and accompany him to the Niester, which separated us from the fortress. There we perceived a bridge of boats,

boats, which the Pacha had built with great difficulty, being obliged to break the ice which covered the river; but all these attempts to pay his court to the Tartar Sovereign were unsuccessful; nor could all the arguments of the Visir, prevail on the Prince to pass the bridge. "I cross rivers," says he, "in a more œconomical manner." This was no sooner said, than putting his horse into a trot, he forces the Pacha, who trembled at this pleasantry, to follow his example. The cracking of the ice, which broke under us, was indeed enough to make him regret his pontoons; and the Kam's arguments of their inutility, had no weight with him till he was safely landed on the opposite shore. During this passage, the cannon of the place had begun the salute, and Krim-Gueray entered Bender under a general discharge of artillery. He was lodged at the Governor's, and he here dismissed the remainder of his troops, whilst his household went on to Kaouchan, to prepare for his reception; and where we all arrived, well satisfied

with the prospect of reposing ourselves after the fatigues of the campaign.

The news, however, we received from Constantinople, from whence the Ottoman army was preparing to begin its march towards the Danube, did not promise the Tartars any long inaction. In the midst of the pleasures by which Krim-Gueray delighted to unbend his mind, his foresight would not allow him to overlook the necessary orders for collecting fresh troops, and he thought it necessary to move himself towards Kotchim, that the Grand Visir might be obliged to keep at a distance; and, in fact, the ignorance which uniformly guided this Prime Minister, stood in need of being counteracted by a man so powerful, and so enlightened as the Kam, who was not, as we have already seen, too favourably disposed towards Emin Pacha. The latter, more circumspect in his discontent, and forced to hide the means of manifesting it, was, on that account only, a more dangerous enemy.

In

In the midst of these occupations, Krim-Gueray had more frequent returns of those hypochondriac complaints to which he was subject. Being alone with him during one of these attacks, which he supported with impatience, I was striving to dissuade him from the use of empyric remedies, when one *Siropolo*, who had already proposed one to him, entered his apartment. This man, born at Corfu, by religion a Greek, a great chymist, physician to the Prince of Wallachia, and his agent in Tartary, had, in right of these titles, a free admission to the Kam ; he did not let slip this opportunity of offering the succour of his art, assuring him, that one draught, by no means disagreeable to the palate, would be sufficient to effect a radical cure. “ On those terms I consent,” replied the Prince, and the doctor went out to comply with them. I shewed my uneasiness so plainly, that Krim-Gueray, taking notice of it, says to me, smiling, “ What, my friend, you are afraid ?”—“ Undoubtedly,” replied I, sharply ; “ reflect on that man’s situation,

and your own, and judge whether I am wrong." "What nonsense!" said he; "what good can I derive from such an examination? A single glance is sufficient: look at him—look at me, and see whether the Infidel would dare!" In vain, did I make use of the strongest representations, until the phyfic arrived; and the quickness with which it removed the Kam's indisposition, only added to my fears. His situation the next day increased my suspicions: scarcely had he strength enough to appear in public; but the art of the physician, by pronouncing it a salutary crisis, made the symptom pass for the fore-runner of the cure. Krim-Gueray, however, went out of his harem no more; and justly alarmed for his situation, and the safety of his Ministers, by making them partake of my fears, I prevailed on them to make *Siropola* appear, to signify to him, that his life depended on that of their master; but this chymist knew the character of his judges well enough to be convinced, that their ambition would soon be less occupied with
their

their dead master, than with the person who was to be his successor. No menaces gave him the least concern ; we were without hopes, and I had no expectation of again seeing the Kam, when he sent to me to come and speak to him. Introduced into his harem, I found there several of his women, whose grief, and the general consternation, had made them neglect to withdraw. I entered the apartment where Krim-Gueray was lying : He had just finished different dispatches with the Divan Effendi †. Shewing me the papers which were lying round him, “ See there,” said he, “ my last work ; and my last moments I have reserved for you !” But soon perceiving that my greatest efforts could not conceal the poignancy of my sorrow, “ Let us separate,” added he ; “ your sensibility would melt me, and I will try to go to sleep more gaily !” He then made a sign to six musicians, at the bottom of his chamber, to begin their concert, and I learnt, an hour after, that this unfortu-

† Secretary of the Council.

nate Prince breathed his last to the sound of music. It is unnecessary for me to say, what regret was occasioned by the loss of him, nor how much I was myself afflicted. The affliction was general, and terror even took such possession of men's minds, that they who slept the preceding evening, in the most perfect security, thought the enemy was already at their gates.

Whilst the Divan, immediately assembled, was dispatching different messengers, delivering over the authority of the interregnum to a Sultan, and making preparations for the funeral of Krim-Gueray, *Sirapolo* obtained, without difficulty, a passport, and the necessary order for post-horses, to return quietly to Wallachia. The symptoms of poison appeared very manifest, however, on embalming the body; but the present interest of that Court, stifled every idea of vengeance, and of the punishment of the offender. The Prince's body was carried into the Crimea, in a coach hung with mourning, drawn by six horses, caparisoned with black cloth; fifty

fifty horsemen, a number of Mirzas, and a Sultan, who commanded the escort, were also in mourning; and it is remarkable, that the custom is no where in use throughout the East, but amongst the Tartars.

The great fatigue I had so long undergone, together with the uncertainty of my situation after this event, made me very readily adopt the idea of going to Constantinople, to wait such further orders as might be given me : a part of my household was still at Bactchéferay, the other part I had left at Kaouchan, with Mr. Rufin, *charge d'affaires*; and I set out with my secretary, a surgeon, a servant, and the Bachetchoadar of the Kam, who had directions to conduct me, and was provided with the necessary orders. We were in the Tartar dress, and our baggage was in character; we had scarcely enough to load one horse, which the postillion led in hand, and which we followed, riding post; but, notwithstanding the quick trot of the Tartar post-horses, the distance of the different relays prevented me from travelling
more

more than fifteen leagues the first day. It was still day-light when we arrived in the village of Bafs-Arabia, which my conductor made choice of for our abode ; he made me stop in the middle of a place surrounded by houses, and I remarked, that each inhabitant, standing at his door, kept his eyes fixed on us, whilst the Tchoadar, staring about him, examined one after another. “ Well,” said I, to him, “ where are we to lodge ? Nobody seems to be paying any attention to that.”—“ I beg your pardon,” replied he ; “ every body is expecting, and wishing to have the preference : by choosing the house you like best, you will be sure to make somebody happy.” During this conversation, I observed an old man, standing alone at his door ; his venerable air interested me ; I decided in his favour, and had no sooner made this choice, than all the inhabitants returned into their houses. The earnestness of my new landlord testified his satisfaction : scarcely had he introduced me into a low room, neatly fitted up, before
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he produced his wife and his daughter, both of them with their faces uncovered §. The first carried a bason and ewer, the second a towel, which she threw over my hands, when I had washed them. Instructed by my guide, I submitted, without difficulty,

§ We have seen that the law of Namekrem, of which I have spoken in the Preliminary Discourse, is not scrupulously observed amongst the Tartars. The reader must have remarked also, amongst that people, a great number of customs which seem to point out the origin of those customs which are analogous to them amongst ourselves. Cannot we trace out the origin of the nuptial crown, and the sugar-plumbs, which are common at the marriages of the European nations, from the manner in which the Tartars bestow the marriage portion on their daughters? They cover them with millet: in the origin of all societies, grain must have been the received emblem of riches; in this light they placed a flat dish, of about a foot in diameter, on the head of the new married women; they stretched a veil over her head, which descended to her shoulders; after this they poured millet on the trencher, which, spreading all round her, formed a cone, whose base became proportioned to the size of the bride: her dowry was not complete until the pyramid of millet reached up to the trencher, the veil still allowing her to breathe. This custom was not favourable to little persons; they content themselves, therefore,

ficulty, to every thing which hospitality dictated to these good people. After ordering the supper, and leaving the women to get it ready, the old man, who until then had taken me for a Mirza, undeceived by the Tchoadar, came to make an apology for his inability to give me proper accommodations. My answer relieved him; and being desirous of asking him questions respecting the objects around me, I made him sit down, and smoke, and take coffee with me, which was brought me by my servant. This little civility, which he certainly would not have experienced from a Mirza, disposed him to enter into conversation. I desired him to tell me why, for the sole purpose of hospitality, they subjected themselves to a custom, of which

therefore, at present, with estimating the number of measures of millet that a girl is worth. But the Turks and the Armenians, who calculate in gold and silver, still preserving, however, the custom of the trencher and the veil, throw pieces of money on the bride, which they call "Spreading millet."—Why may not the nuptial crown, and the sugar-plumbs, have the same origin?

he

he experienced the inconvenience, and which was capable of ruining the richest individual, if the choice of travellers happened to fall frequently upon him.

The Old Man.

The preference you have given me, has only made me feel the pleasure of obtaining it. We consider hospitality in the light only of our advantage. The person amongst us who should constantly enjoy that preference, would make others jealous of him; but we admit of no measures to fix the doubtful choice of the traveller. Our anxiety to appear at our doors, is only to show that the houses are inhabited.—This uniformity maintains the balance; and my favourable stars alone have procured me the happiness of your company.

Baron.

Pray tell me, do you treat the first comer with the same humanity?

Old Man.

The only difference we make, is by going to meet the unfortunate, who are always timid, from distress. In this case, the
pleasure

pleasure of assisting them is the privilege of the person who can first get hold of them.

Baron.

It is impossible more rigorously to fulfil the Law of Mahomet: but the Turks are not always such scrupulous observers of the Coran.

Old Man.

Nor do we think we are obeying that holy book by exercising hospitality. We are men, before we become Mussulmen; humanity has dictated our customs; they are far more ancient than the Law.

Baron.

I observe, however, that you have some modern customs: for example, that bed with four posts, the tester †, the bedding,
this

† The form of the Tartar beds I have just been mentioning, as well as that of the Grand Signior's throne, which consists likewise of a bed with four posts, presents circumstances of analogy which may appear interesting. When we consider that these governments must have been Patriarchal, and that the Tartars are in possession of the most ancient annals of
this

this table, those chairs, are they Tartar furniture? or are they only to be found at your house?

Old Man.

We know no other.

Baron.

I am the more astonished, since neither the Moldavians, nor the Turks, have any thing like them. I cannot conceive in what way these European customs can have reached you. How happens it, that you have not adopted the Turkish furniture, as well as your brethren of the Crimea?

Old Man.

You see accordingly some cushions, which our forefathers knew nothing of.—

this kind, as well as of many others, we shall not be astonished that the form of the bed from which their old men must naturally have pronounced their judgments, should have been adopted, by way of model, for the Oriental thrones; and if we add to this remark, the invasion of all Europe by people of Tartar origin, we shall find the explanation of the term Bed of Justice; always employed in France, when the Sovereign Majesty displays itself.

But corruption must necessarily make less progress amongst us than in Crimea, where our Sultans shew the example of the Turkish effeminacy, in which they are brought up in Romelia.

Baron.

I feel perfectly this distinction ; but still it throws no light on the origin of the pieces of European furniture I find here.

Old Man.

Nothing, however, can be more strongly marked than the origin you are searching after ; these family moveables cannot be European ; we are the elder branch ; it is your furniture that is Tartarian.

This answer further excited my curiosity ; I multiplied my questions, and had the pleasure to hear my landlord confirm every conjecture I had myself already made on the subject. He informed me, likewise, that the Tartars on the Caspian Sea, and those beyond it, preserved the same customs.

The desire of sleeping on the borders of the Danube, obliged us to set out very early.

early. At my departure, my host proved himself true to the principles he had professed; it was impossible for me to prevail on him to receive the present I intended to make him, for his kind reception.

We arrived at Ismahel *, from whence I could not cast my eyes on the opposite side of the Danube, without thinking of the surly insolence of the Turks, amongst whom I was to be next day. The neighbourhood already partook of the insolence of their manners; and this depository of the commerce between the Turks and the Tartars, no longer exhibited that good-fellowship, and that frank simplicity, which characterize the latter. Far from there finding obliging hosts, ready to assist you, one is delivered into the hands of industrious, and greedy Jews, who are to be found in every spot of the earth where there is a prospect of gain, and they are suffered to live.

* A town of Bass-Arabia, on the left bank, near the mouth of the Danube.

Besides the favourable situation of Isma-hel, as a depository for the transportation of corn by the Danube, that town enjoys a peculiar advantage, arising from its industry in the fabrication of the skins of shagreens, which we call Turkey shagreen. Around this town are to be seen large spaces set apart for the preparation of these skins. First, they are worked like parchment; after which, they are suspended in the air by four sticks, which stretch them horizontally, and prepare them to receive the impression of a small seed, of a very astringent quality, with which they are covered; and after a certain time, the shagreens are found in a perfect state of preparation.

We had two branches of the river to pass before we could reach the other side, and it was scarcely day-break, when the ferry-boat landed us on the island, through the middle of which we crossed diagonally for four leagues, to arrive at the second branch, over against Tultcha, a Turkish fortress, situated a little below the junction.

After

After providing ourselves with horses at this place, we continued our journey through a forest, in which the postillion warned us to be upon our guard. But it struck me, that five Tartars could never be an object to excite the avidity of the Governor's son, and a few gentlemen of his age, who, according to our guide's account, amused themselves with stripping the passengers. We thought ourselves out of danger of these tricks, when, on coming out of the wood, we met a horseman, well dressed, well mounted, and followed by a ruffian, both of them covered with arms, in a manner truly ridiculous. Two carbines, three pair of pistols, two sabres, and three or four great knives, made these fellows imagine they had formidable appearance; added to this strange warlike apparatus, they assumed a tone of insolence, designed, doubtless, to frighten timid people, and to enable them to judge whether it would be prudent for them to begin the attack. We saluted them civilly, when they were within hail, and their

first act of hostility was by not answering, concluding, from our tameness in receiving this sort of insult, that a few bravadoes would render us tractable, the rascal who appeared to be the chief, takes a pistol out of his armory, pushes on his horse, and kept wheeling round us; but tired, at length, of seeing that the fellow wanted to frighten us, and reflecting likewise, that the opinion of our timidity might lead him to take some steps which would oblige us to kill him, I thought it better to get rid of him by correcting his ideas. I quitted, in consequence, our little troop, and, pistol in hand, I enter the lists with this prancing gentleman. Struck with this manœuvre, he slackens his evolutions:—"Your horse appears to me to be well broke," says I to him, laughing, "but if he is of a good kind, he will stand fire;—let us try:"—On which, I fired close to his ears; the animal begins to rear, the cavalier throws away his arms, to hold by the mane, his cap falls off, and I left him in this small confusion, which operated as a sufficient correction

correction to them, and we quietly pursued our journey.

After passing the plains of Dobrodgan †, I observed that the ground, which rises gradually towards the foot of the mountains which separated us from Thrace, presented, every where, great beds of marble, which seemed to serve as a basis to the Balkan ‡. We penetrated into these mountains by a defile, where the Kamtchiksfouy, (*the River of the Whip*) has its rise. This torrent, constantly fed by the springs of fresh water, falling in its course from one rock to another, has so many windings, that it must be crossed seventeen times before one arrives at the bottom of the defile, where we began to ascend the mountains by very difficult roads. We stopped to pass the night in a village situated about

† A province of Turkey in Europe, between the Danube and the Thracian mountains, celebrated for a small breed of horses, much esteemed by the Turks, from their being all pacers.

‡ The name given by the Turks to the mountains of Thrace; and, in general, to the highest chains of mountains.

the middle region, and had begun to take some repose, when it was interrupted by the noise of a numerous cavalcade. This was the new Calga Sultan, brother to Dewlet-Gueray, just named by the Porte to succeed Krim-Gueray on the throne of the Tartars. That Prince, who thought I was still at Kaouchan, no sooner heard that I was in the same village, than he sent for me, to wait upon him. He told me that the Ottoman army was in march; and after expressing some regret at the difference of our routes, concluded by prevailing on me to go a little out of my way, to Serai §, to see his brother, the new Kam. “He is preparing to set out,” added he, “and I hope, that by determining you to return with us, he will make you forget a loss which you have thought irreparable.” In fact, I did not believe that the loss of Krim-Gueray was easily to be repaired. But I resolved, without difficulty, to visit the dependencies of the Tar-

§ A town in Romelia, dependent on the Tartar Sultans.

tar Sultans, that by seeing the manner of living in Romelia, I might complete my inquiry into every thing which concerns that nation.

We had still to cross the highest chain of the mountains of the Balkan. The sight of their different strata, and the variety of the rocks, which it seems to have cost Nature an effort to rend asunder, to discover the marks of the treasures they contain, present, at every step, those great characters, which enlarging our ideas of the origin of Nature, call upon us to contemplate her works with additional interest and ardour. I saw in that part of the mountains, the ruins of ancient castles.— I there observed, too, numerous excavations, similar to those I have remarked in the Crimea, and which, no doubt, are in the Balkan, likewise, so many monuments of tyranny.

Having reached the upper regions of these mountains, we found there abundance of violets, whose stems and leaves, hid under the snow, formed a carpetting,
as

as striking, as it was agreeable. Continuing our route, we fell in with that newly traced out by the Ottoman army. Its direction was towards Yffakché. This route, marked out only by some felled trees, whose trunks were left standing two feet from the ground, to save trouble to the workmen, promised some difficulty for the passage of the artillery. Two little mounds of earth, raised to the right and left of the road, repeated at stated distances, and always in sight of one another, were the only marks in these plains to indicate the route. I left this road at *Kirk-Kiliffié*, (the *Forty Churches*). Whilst they were providing horses for me, there being none left at the post-house, the Turk who occupied the place of post-master, endeavoured to console me for the delay.— He politely invited me to go up stairs with him, and after ordering a dish of *heavy* coffee ||, he gave me, in the interim, a

|| An expression of the Turks, to show that they do not spare coffee. It is a very false prejudice to imagine that the Turks are fond of weak coffee; and
pipe;

pipe ; and, to complete the regale, he gallantly placed on the table a small piece of wood of aloes. This done, my host, blaming the government for the inconveniences I suffered, began to talk politics ; but tired with his prattling, I invited him to smoke with me, in hopes that this employment would slacken his discourse ; on this, he looks at his watch, reckons on his fingers, and says to me, “ I will be with you immediately.”

A head, bending over his long neck, the whole appearance of his person, which was rather eccentric, had already made me suspect that he was a lover of opium ; and, in fact, he pulled out of his pocket a little box, with a great air of mystery ; he then claps his hands, to call one of his people, shows him his box, and this signal immediately produced both our coffee, and his master's pipe, which was preceded by a large glass of cold water. The *amateur*

if they have given it weak to some Europeans, it only proves, that they were not inclined to treat them well.

smiled

smiled at this sight, opens his box, takes three pills, of the size of three large olives, rolls them, one after another, in his hand, offers me as many, and on my refusal, swallows, with wonderful gravity, his dose of happiness, which would certainly have been sufficient to kill twenty persons amongst us. The time I was obliged to wait for the horses, gave me the opportunity of examining the play of muscles, and the fallies of imagination, which were the prelude to that state of drunkenness in which I left this happy *Theriaki* †.

We had now reached Romelia, and had no sooner entered the patrimony of the Jengis-Kan Princes, than I was struck with an appearance as rich, as it was different from the rest of the Ottoman empire. Variegated productions in great plenty, and well taken care of, country-houses, gardens beautifully situated, a number of villages, in each of which were to be distinguished the mansion of the Lord, and his plantations, rising up to the very

† Opium eater.

summit

summit of the hills, diversified the face of the earth, and formed a general landscape, in the European style, the particular beauties of which redoubled my astonishment.

The town of Serai now presented itself to our view, as well as the palace of the Kam, where we arrived by a long avenue in front of the buildings, and which conducted us to the esplanade that separates the town from the castle. Several streets, terminating like the radii of a circle, were prolonged into the plain by plantations, and formed a star, of which the first court of the palace occupied the centre. We passed this court, to arrive at the second, where we alighted. I was first introduced into the Selihtar's apartments, in one of the wings. That officer, leaving me to a few moments repose, to take some coffee, which is the invariable custom, went to acquaint his master with my arrival, and presently returned, to conduct me to his audience. We passed through a large court-yard, before we arrived at the wing occupied by
Dewlet-

Dewlet-Gueray. Surrounded by a great number of courtiers, he appeared to be more taken up with the growth of his beard, which he was obliged to let grow from the moment of his elevation to the throne, than with the arduous situation he was about to fill. I have had an opportunity of knowing, from a long conversation with this Prince, that still too young, and perhaps of too feeble a character to tread in the footsteps of his uncle, Krim-Gueray, he has no other ambition than to devote himself entirely to the views of the Grand Visir.

It was too late for me, when I quitted the new Kam, to think of proceeding on my journey; I accepted the offer which was made me, therefore, to pass the night in the Palace, the more readily, because the Selictar who had charge of me, appeared to be of an amiable disposition, and sufficiently informed to resolve the questions I wished to ask him on every thing that had excited my attention. He informed

formed me, that this province, given as a patrimony to the family of Jengis-Kan, and divided into separate territories, secured to each member of that family hereditary possessions, independent of the Porte, and in which the right of asylum is inviolable. What was originally an accessory to this grant, has eventually become the principal object. There is not a rascal in the Ottoman empire, who does not here find impunity, provided he has wherewithal to pay the Sultan who protects him. To these windfalls, which are frequent, and the profits of which are collected in ready money, may be added, the tenths, the poll-tax, and the other domanial rights. The fortune of these Princes is further augmented by the produce of the employments successively possessed by them in Crimea; but this emolument, limited by the Porte to the sole descendants of Selim-Gueray, gives them a pre-eminence, from their opulence, over the Sultans of the other branches of that family, who,
reduced

reduced to live on their patrimony; have vegetated, until this day, in the greatest mediocrity *.

I left

* Selim-Gueray, who reigned at the end of the last, and at the beginning of the present century, after saving, by his valour, the Turkish army, on the point of sinking under the combined force of the Germans, the Poles, and the Muscovites, refused the Ottoman throne, on which the soldiery wished to elevate him; and the Grand Signior, to recompense the bravery and disinterestedness of the deliverer, settled the throne of the Tartars on his descendants, to the prejudices of the other Princes of the Jengis-Kan family. Selim-Gueray obtained, also, the privilege of making the pilgrimage of Mecca, which no Prince of that House had hitherto obtained. The Porte, in fact, might have reason to fear, that, at such a distance, they would excite the people to revolt in their favour; but Selim-Gueray's conduct could inspire no diffidence. He made this pious journey, and his descendants have substituted the surname of Hadgi, (Pilgrim) for that of Tchoban, (Shepherd) common to all the family; and which is still preserved by the other branches.

We shall be curious, also, to investigate the origin of the surname of Gueray—always borne by the reigning Prince in Tartary. The tradition is, that one of the great vassals, whose name, and the æra of his crime, are neither of them preserved, after forming the project of usurping the throne of his masters, and

I left Seraï; and the circuit I had been forced to make to get there, having given time for the Turkish army to pass Pazandgik, I met with nobody but stragglers, when I got once more on the direct road to Constantinople; but the dead bodies with which it was strewed, the plundered state

and taking the necessary measures, gave orders for the massacre of all the Jengis-Kan Princes; but that a faithful subject, availing himself of the tumult, had the address to withdraw, without the knowledge of the assassins, one of those Princes, then in his cradle, and that he entrusted this treasure, and the secret, to a Shepherd of the name of Gueray, whose probity was universally acknowledged. The young Jengis, brought up under the name of Gueray, saw, without knowing it, his inheritance a prey to tyranny, whilst his supposed father, occupied only with a country life, was waiting the moment when the public hatred should be so matured, as to revolt the Tartars against the usurper. The Prince had attained the age of twenty when that event took place. The old Shepherd, always respected, saw the conspiracy ripen, animated the conspirators, presented his Sovereign to the people; and, after the death of the tyrant, re-established him on the throne of his ancestors.

Hitherto the new Kam had no other claim to govern them, in the eyes of the people, than the testimony of a respectable old man indeed, but who might

state of the villages, and the general desolation of the whole country, loudly proclaimed the horrible disorders which accompanied its progress. Bodies of cavalry, and infantry were joining the army in each other's footsteps, without officers, or the smallest appearance of discipline. The little bands we met with, appeared only to still be suspected of acting from motives of ambition. His disinterestedness soon dissipated every injurious suspicion. Called to the foot of the throne, to receive the reward of the most signal service, he refuses all the honours which are offered him, and wishes for no other favour, than to immortalize his zeal, by rendering his name immortal. From that moment he returned to keep his flocks: the Kam governed under the name of Tchoban Gueray, (Shepherd Gueray); and the surname of Gueray is preserved, to this day, through all the succession of Tartar Sovereigns, as well as that of Shepherd, (Tchoban). The Turkish historians differ on this point, and their compilations would throw a doubt on the Tartar tradition, did not the palpable falsehoods in the Ottoman histories, respecting the most recent facts, oblige us to reject the opinion of the Turkish annalists: They pretend that the name of Gueray was borne by one of the younger branches of Jengis-Kan; but the origin of the proper name is not so much the question, as that of the epithet Shepherd. Now, we cannot trace the origin of that name, but from the above tradition.

be

be got together to squabble amongst themselves; to fire away, right or wrong; to amuse themselves with the various accidents arising from their wantonness; to murder some unhappy Christians; to imagine their enemies already exterminated; and in their road, if I may be allowed the expression, to gather the gleanings after the crop; but this was so completely done already by the main body of the army, that the remains of this horrible harvest were to be traced up to the walls even of Constantinople; every thing was destroyed by fire; we changed our horses on the smoking ashes of the very post-houses; nor could we discover a single habitable spot on this whole route, until we reached the Seven Towers, where I alighted, to go by sea to the suburb of Pera.

Whilst they were looking out for a boat for me, and were embarking our little baggage, a Turk, the news-monger of the quarter, observes me, and asks my conductor, who I am? "It is a Mirza," replied he. The inquisitive fellow comes up

to me, and invites me to take some refreshment : I accept the invitation, and we enter into a neighbouring coffee-house, of which he was the orator. On a sign from him, the place of honour is resigned to me ; the company rise ; I stride gravely over twenty funnels of long pipes ; I seat myself ; and incessantly regaled, and questioned until my departure, I pay my share, muttering a few monosyllables, from which the politicians made very ingenious deductions, and which gave great satisfaction to the whole company ; nor was I less satisfied to leave them, to get to Pera, where I lost no time in laying aside my Tartar accoutrements.

END OF VOL. I.



